1-1-1996

Learner generated materials in adult literacy programs as a vehicle for development : theory and practice in case studies in Nepal.

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LEARNER GENERATED MATERIALS IN ADULT LITERACY PROGRAMS AS A VEHICLE FOR DEVELOPMENT: THEORY AND PRACTICE IN CASE STUDIES IN NEPAL

A Dissertation Presented

by

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Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1996

School of Education

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ABSTRACT

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MAY 1996

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Adult literacy and non-formal basic education programs have been implemented on a continuous basis in Nepal for the past 20 years. Both the Ministry of Education and local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been implementing literacy courses as "entry points" for community development programs. This exploratory study examines three NGOs which, as part of their adult literacy programs, have organized adult new literates to develop and publish print materials. This process and the resultant texts have been termed Learner Generated Materials (LGM).

Through a critical review of the literature, theoretical rationales and approaches for the use of LGM methods are identified, and patterns of practice, especially in Asia, are analyzed. Three intensive case studies of LGM activities in Nepal, utilizing field research, interviews and observation, describe the process of implementing LGM methods and the use of the materials developed in the Nepal context.

General findings are related to the use of LGM for learning, the popularity and utility of the product for new literates, and the use of both the process and product for participatory action. Findings indicate that the authors found publishing to be an empowering experience. Readers interviewed strongly preferred reading LGM texts to professionally developed materials in regard to comprehension, enjoyment and inspiration. This was supported by author and reader beliefs that LGM validated them as knowers. LGM texts developed around specific development themes also had a catalytic effect in motivating readers to action in the area of community development. In this regard, LGM texts appear to change the relation and climate between new literates and the development process, moving them from passive recipients to active doers.

Issues which emerge from the study include the use of new literates as editors, publishing texts in non-standard Nepali, the role and applications of LGM activities as tools for learning, and the effectiveness of LGM methods for promoting interactive and critical forms of knowledge. Areas for further research are also identified.

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INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem

The number of illiterates in the world continues to grow. Sources estimate that there are currently one billion adults (over the age of 15) who can neither read nor write as a means of communication (UNESCO UIE, 1992; UNESCO ILY, 1990; WCEFA, 1990). The United Nations proclaimed 1990 "International Literacy Year" and the 1990's the Decade of Literacy. At the World Conference on Education For All in March, 1990, 155 countries met at Jomtien Thailand and signed an accord committing themselves to reduce adult illiteracy rates in their countries by half before the year 2000 (UNESCO IBE, 1991; UNESCO ILY, 1990; UNICEF, 1992a).

In the cycles of development, literacy has again risen to be recognized as a key ingredient to the development of individuals and society. Health, hygiene, productivity and readiness for change are viewed by planners and politicians as outcomes which can be generated through mass literacy (Inkeles & Smith, 1974; Myrdal, 1968; UNICEF, 1994). Adult literacy and non-formal basic education programs in less developed countries are often used as 'entry points' for follow-up, community development activities (Ahmed, 1989; Arnove & Graff, 1987; Bhola, 1884; Coombs, 1985; Ouane, 1989; UNICEF, 1993).

The world's attention to, and expectations of literacy have increased over the past 20 years, and there has been

progress in terms of literacy rates. In Africa, female literacy rates have more than doubled since 1970, while in East Asia and the Pacific, female literacy rates have increased from 56% in 1970 to over 70% in 1990 (UNDP, 1994; UNICEF, 1995). Even though progress has been made in terms of literacy rates, in real terms, with the increasing world population, the actual number of adult illiterates still continues to grow. (International Council for Adult Education, 1983; UNDP, 1994; UNESCO IBE, 1992).

On closer examination of these adult literacy figures, one finds that South Asia as a region has the lowest indicators in terms of literacy globally. Adult female literacy in 1990 for South Asia was only 32%, while male adults was 59%. With a population of roughly 900 million adults, over the age of 15, we find that over 300 million illiterates are living in South Asia. Considering the low enrolment and completion rates in primary schools, and rising population, we can expect these numbers to swell throughout the 1990s (UNDP, 1994; UNICEF, 1995).

It is not surprising, therefore, that we find major adult literacy efforts in the South Asian region. In India, the National Adult Literacy Program reached over 15 million adults from 1971-1983. In the Seventh Five Year Plan, from 1985-1990, over 85 million adults have been provided access to basic literacy instruction, though with mixed results at best (Bhola, 1989). Pakistan and Bangladesh, with literacy rates of 35%, have put more energy and efforts into

providing quality basic education for children rather than adult (UNICEF, 1995). In Nepal, with 1970 literacy figures of 23% for men and 3% for women has raised these rates to 38% and 13% by 1990. In order to meet the Jomtien Goals, His Majesty's Government of Nepal has launched a National Literacy Programme to reach some 500,000 adults each year until the end of the decade (Nepal NFE Council, 1995; UNICEF, 1992c).

Considering the tremendous efforts and inputs in the field of adult literacy, in terms of financial, human, and administrative resources, the outcomes are mixed at best. Most adult literacy programs are marked with high dropout rates. In the United States, it has been found that some 40% of adult participants are "non-completers" in the basic literacy courses (NCAL, 1994). In the six month adult literacy programs in Nepal, it has also been found that over 40% of the participants dropout before completing the course (Comings & Shrestha, 1992; Nepal NFE Council, 1995). In terms of wastage and cost effectiveness, the implications are serious.

Another area of concern is the relatively low transfer of literacy skills from the classroom into daily life by adult learners (Krashen, 1982; Stevick, 1976). In the Total Literacy Campaign in India, while millions have been taught to be literate by their neighbors and friends, studies do not show that literacy skills taught have been retained or are used in daily life by the learners (Comings, 1995;

Rogers, 1994; Roy & Kapoor, 1975). While there is little empirical research on retention, it appears as though only 50% of the adults who complete short term literacy programs actually retain and use their literacy skills, although this percentage can be increased by extending the period of instruction (Comings, 1995).

If we look at the root cause of this problem of efficiency and utility of adult literacy programs, two inter-related issues can be identified: the prevailing perception that literacy is context free; and, closely related, the lack of active participation by adult learners in the learning process. In the first, literacy has been viewed as a universal state, as a standard level of proficiency in a neutral set of practices. The roles of the individual, culture and context in literacy theory and practice have been ignored. Taken out of context, with deep structures and phonic disintegration, literacy has been conceived and taught without consideration of the social context (Capra, 1982; Street, 1984; 1990).

Dominant, or standard literacy practices, which are school based and found in the homes of the educated mainstream, are typically considered as value free, culturally independent and, of course, the most logically coherent. In this perspective, decontextualized communication as personified by print means that literates in engage in higher forms of thinking, such as abstraction and critical reasoning than do non-literates. Non-standard

literacy usage and practice, if recognized, are viewed as inferior and logically less sound (Cole 1977; Ogbu, 1984). In the context of less developed countries, dominant literacy practices are often based on an international norm (i.e., French/English, empiricist/essay), or on the practices of elite classes, castes or ethnic groups. As Scribner and Cole poignantly state (1981):

> Near exclusive pre-occupation with school-based writing practices has some unfortunate consequences. The assumptions that logicality is in the text and the text is in the school can lead to a serious under-estimation of the cognitive skills involved in non-school, non-essay writing. . . . It tends to promote the notion that writing outside of the school is of little importance and has no significant consequences for the individual. . . . What is missing in this picture is any detailed knowledge of the role and functions of writing outside of school, the aspirations and values which sustain it, and the intellectual skills it demands and fosters. (p. 61)

As a result, literacy programs do not build upon or recognize the existing literacy practices of adults. Standard, or dominant literacy practice is held as a value free skill which can be acquired by following tightly controlled exercises. Standard literacy practice is seen to be most appropriate for all learners, regardless of their background, needs or future desires. School, as the great gate-keeper, requires all learners to acquire the same literacy, to start from the same point, and progress through the same stages. Standard literacy practices, as taught in school, are found in the homes of the elite and most educated, while they are not practiced in the homes of

lower castes, lower classes or ethnic minorities (Heath, 1988: Scribner & Cole, 1981; Street, 1990). This has resulted in poor performance in school by these students from non-standard literacy households, many of whom are enrolled in the adult literacy programs. From a critical perspective, these issues are charged with social inequity, with middle class and elites children being catered to by the literacy practice in school, maintaining the imbalance in terms of access to education and the production knowledge (Bowles, 1982; Coles, 1977; Escobar, 1984; Memmi, 1967; Ogbu, 1989).

This has resulted in and been reinforced by the second key issue, that of extremely low levels of adult literacy learner participation in the learning process (Dewey, 1966; Knowles, 1975). Adult learners, as illiterates, have long been viewed as deficient recipients of education. Class instruction follows a transmission mode of delivery where the learners are treated as empty vessels to be filled by educated teachers (Brown, 1970; Freire, 1972). Academics and scholars develop curriculum and materials for adult illiterates which lead to pre-determined levels of proficiency in specific literacy practices. Adult learners are rarely asked what they would like to learn, but are led through tightly controlled exercises, activities and readings. Enrollment in literacy class is often determined by authorities, who require participation or whose site selection is based on central made decisions rather than

local demand. Similarly, adult illiterate target members rarely participate in program management, planning or administration of adult literacy programs (Fingeret, 1989; Jurmo, 1989).

While learner participation can be viewed on many levels, in his review of adult literacy programs, Jurmo distinguishes three major purposes given in support of learner participation in the instruction process: efficiency, personal development and social change (Jurmo, 1987; 1989). In the first, active participation by learners accelerates the acquisition process. In participatory programs, learners help determine the content areas and topics with which they would like to learn and are more apt to interact with print in meaningful ways. In the second, humanistic educators have stressed that participatory approaches, which center on the learners themselves and support the development of the individual. References are made to self-esteem, the ability to work collaboratively, problem solving, and other personal qualities as outcomes of participation (Curran, 1976; Knowles, 1975).

The third purpose identified is social change. Jurmo found that many participatory programs were trying to address the fundamental causes of the problems faced by uneducated and illiterate adults. These programs focussed on building stronger links between learning and action which, it is claimed, led to changes in the learners lives. In some cases, programs utilize learner participation to

analyze situations, to identify themes or issues, and to plan lessons or actions based on this analysis. Other programs linked instruction to finding employment while others actively sought to involve learners in program management as a means of challenging traditional hierarchical management systems (Freire, 1985; Jurmo, 1989; Jurmo, 1987; Kozol, 1985). In reviewing the general lack of participation by adults in basic education programs, when coupled by the positivistic theory of print being context-free, it is not surprising that most adult literacy programs have had high drop-out, low impact and generally poor performance.

Participatory approaches to adult literacy acquisition offer the potential in linking instruction to learning, learning to action, and education to development. Jurmo's review and analysis of participatory adult literacy programs featured North and South America. In South Asia, there have been only a few, scattered and small-scale efforts at participatory adult literacy programs to date, which are scattered and not well documented. Participation of adults in literacy programs remains a theory unpracticed in most of the sub-continent. While adult literacy programs are funded as a means of improving the basic development indicators of these countries, there has been little evidence to date that adult basic literacy programs, by themselves, are having any real impact on the lives of the learners and their families.

Throughout South Asia, adult literacy programs, by and large, follow the traditional assumptions and approaches to instruction. Teachers use tightly controlled primers, phonic-based discrete-part methods and banking-mode, rote-memorization instruction. Teachers commonly read exercises and word lists aloud, with learners repeating in unison. Writing instruction involves copying passages from the book or copying special passages written on the blackboard. Within adult literacy classes, little to no real writing takes place, while the writing process and whole language activities are absent. This absence of "real" reading materials and literacy "use", to use Rogers' terms, is a main reason for the dismal results of educational programs. All time spent by learners in the classroom engaging with print has nothing to do with the way they would engage with print in their own lives (BALID, 1993; Rogers, 1994).

These instructional problems are compounded by the fact that print materials for the new reader, whether produced by private sector or government, are lacking. In India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, the special efforts made to provide new literates with relevant and interesting reading materials are frightfully inadequate. The lack of post-literacy programs and reading materials for emerging adult new literate has been cited by many as a main reason for the failure of many adult literacy programs (Arnove & Graff, 1987; Bhola, 1984; Carron & Bordia, 1985; Ouane, 1990). In rural Nepal, outside of the carefully crafted

primers and basal stories passed out in classrooms, reading materials do not exist in any large number. Besides the few centrally produced extension materials for new literates and government staff, reading materials consist of labels and product wrappings, election slogans on walls and religious posters and scriptures (ODA, 1985; Rogers, 1994; Thapalayia, 1993).

In this context, Learner Generated Materials (LGM) has been introduced as a methodology which involves both a process and a product. In a review of literature on theory and practice, there are three main reasons given in support of LGM activities: process, product and participatory action. In terms of process, LGM is perceived as enhancing the acquisition of literacy skills. Through the use of whole language activities and the writing process, participants in LGM activities learn by doing. Literacy skills are gained by engaging in real acts of writing which result in the development of meaningful texts. Learner centered approaches which allow participants to develop their own texts as part of their learning are also seen to build confidence and motivation. In the context of Nepal, this is very different than the standard writing practice in adult literacy classes, where writing consists of filling in blanks, copying sentences from stories or writing dictations.

LGM as product places more emphasis on the finished texts than on the process. In this respect. LGM texts,

developed by the target group members for whom the materials are intended, are seen to be more relevant and accessible than texts or extension materials written by experts. The vocabulary, expressions and style of the materials are local, and therefore more meaningful to the intended readers. Making LGM texts public in 'popular libraries' and exchanging them within families, classrooms, communities and regions not only provides a needed supply of relevant and cost effective materials (Cain & Comings, 1977; Freire & Macedo, 1987). By supporting the development of local materials for exchange, LGM helps to build a print environment and to develop an affinity for reading and writing among participants and community members. Activities used by programmes to develop LGM products include writers' workshops, oral histories, Big Books, and class publications (Meyers, 1991).

LGM for participatory action refers to the use of both process and product as tools for community development, empowerment or social transformation. Participants in LGM activities can use the process to analyze their own situations and problems as a step towards planning action to bring about change in their lives or their communities. Adult literacy class graduates who are now LGM authors report on the empowering aspect of publishing and how it has transformed how they are perceived by themselves and by society (Comings, 1979; Gillespie, 1991; Martin, 1989; Meyers, 1991). Rather than rely on experts from the

'centre', LGM supports horizontal communication between groups at the periphery. These often marginalized groups are able to re-tell history in their own words, which in turn validates local knowledge and local knowers. The publishing of minority languages and texts in vernacular can have a transformative impact on the society. LGM texts for participatory action include community surveys, community maps, brochures and signboards, polls and interviews, murals and mass mailings.

B. Purpose of the Study

The key guiding question of this study may be phrased as follows: what are the issues, benefits and constraints of LGM as a vehicle for learning and development as conceived and practiced in a context such as Nepal, and what are the recommendations for future study, strategies, and practice. While there has been increasing amounts of research in recent years on adult literacy learner involvement in the instructional process, there has been little research to date on LGM. Research that does exist on LGM has been conducted primarily in North and South America and in Europe. There has been little to no concerted research on LGM in developing countries, and in South Asia, examples of LGM are few, isolated and small in scale (Rogers, 1994; UNESCO, 1985, 1986). In the case of Nepal, there has been an increasing number of LGM initiatives carried out by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), since

1992 (Shrestha, 1994). These organizations have implemented LGM activities in conjunction with adult basic literacy courses.

This study will review what theoretical research and scholarship exists in support of learner participation in the development of print materials and the origins, nature and purpose of LGM activities. Three case studies of LGM activities as implemented by NGOs in Nepal will provide insight into practice, and give answers to questions related to implementation. Analysis of patterns of use, including methods and processes followed, the materials being produced, and the use and impact of LGM texts, will provide basis for comparison between case studies of the key issues identified. While assumptions have been made regarding the relation between LGM and efficient learning, between LGM and the production of popular, motivating and accessible materials, and between LGM and action, this has yet to be shown by research in the context of less developed countries, especially in terms of South Asia (Barndt, n.d.; Comings & Cain, 1981; Kidd, 1978). This study will attempt to shed light on some of these issues and to encourage further research.

Nepal was selected as the country as it is representative of many less developed countries, with low GNP, poor infrastructure and low literacy rates. In addition, there is the issue of language, with only 52% of the population speaking Nepali as their mother tongue (CBS,

1993; NMIS, 1995). An extensive adult literacy program exists in Nepal, with an array of government and non-governmental organization implementing the programs. Among the NGOs especially, there has been great interest over the past four years in LGM methods. Considering the potential for LGM development and adaptation in Nepal, and the fact that I was employed by UNICEF in Nepal from 1992, the choice of locations was ideal.

This study is intended for adult literacy and development education theorists and practitioners. The study focuses on LGM-based methods of instruction and materials development, with review and analysis of relevant research coupled with examples of practice. The study is especially relevant to South Asia and South East Asia, but has relevance for adult basic education practitioners and theorists in less developed countries globally. While this study is focussed on adults, LGM methods and activities has been successfully used with children in formal and nonformal systems globally, in both developed and less developed countries.

C. Methodology

This research focuses on three case studies in Nepal, where non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have implemented learner generated materials (LGM) activities. The research is a documentation of LGM methods as a new phenomenon in adult education programs in Nepal and

represents, therefore, the anthropology of innovation. This study is a combination of literature and theory review with field-based, case study research. Attention has also been given to the historical and socio-cultural setting of each case study and of Nepal as a whole, as well as to the patterns of educational and adult literacy activities in Nepal.

The literature and theory review examines LGM in the context of participatory approaches to adult literacy. These participatory approaches are in counter-distinction to the traditional approaches of the positivistic paradigm and a theoretical review of both approaches is provided. The literature review on LGM with adults is brief, as there is a relatively small pool of research to choose from. The theoretical review is complemented by examples of LGM as practiced successfully in different programs globally over the past 20 years.

In selecting the three case studies in Nepal, exploratory sampling was used so that the cases would represent a variety of approaches and contexts and in order to broaden the findings and issues. Of the six potential organizations implementing various forms of LGM activities in Nepal in 1993, all of which were NGOs, the three chosen represent different geographical conditions (hills and plains) and different primary target group populations (Tamang, Tharu, Gurung). All three cases selected involved non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which were

implementing programs in rural areas, where over 85% of the Nepali population lives. In each NGO, adult literacy classes were implemented and the LGM activities were extensions of the literacy programs.

Briefly described, the first case is of Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP). This is an NGO, affiliated with the King Manendra Nature Conservation Trust. ACAP is involved in integrated conservation development activities in the hills and mountains of the Annapurna region in Western Nepal. The second case involves World Education and the Health Education and Adult Literacy (HEAL) Project. The HEAL project integrated health education and promotion with adult literacy and post-literacy classes. HEAL was piloted in the lower hills of central Nepal through the governments district health structure. The third case is Backward Society Education (BASE) a local NGO supporting the development of marginalized and oppressed groups in the plains of the far west. BASE is one of the largest NGOs in the country in terms of membership and works primarily in education and social development.

In each case study, background documents and reports on the organization itself were collected and read. Office staff were interviewed on the history, goals and experiences of the organization. Documentation on the LGM activities themselves was also collected and reviewed, although this documentation by NGOs was sparse. Key

informants who were identified and interviewed were crucial regarding the purposes which motivated the programs and the process of development of the LGM activities. Key informants in terms of implementation included the trainers and facilitator of the writers workshops, and the participants and authors.

In each case, two villages were visited, with stays of 2-4 days. The selection of the villages was not totally by random, as issues of time and distance were considered and made remote villages too time consuming and difficult to research. Staff from the organizations helped in selecting the villages. Criteria for selection included having authors of LGM texts, as well as readers, who had either read the LGM texts in post-literacy classes or at home. In several cases, villages were visited twice. During visits, copies of the authors' books, as well as copies of the literacy primers and copies of LGM texts from other programs, were always carried for reference and discussion aids during our conversations and interviews.

There were no questionnaire sheets filled out during the interviews, but a list of guided questions were developed and used for reference. Interviews were never conducted privately or behind closed doors. Usually readers were interviewed in small groups, which were conducted as a focus group discussion on issues and questions that I raised through the interpreter, or sometimes myself in broken Nepali. On porches and in sitting rooms, observers

would also be present, curious relatives and neighbors. While this was sometimes disturbing, especially when men tried to answer for the female authors and readers, such distractions were expected and dealt with.

Visits to meet and interview authors in their villages required time and physical endurance, as some of the villages were a 5-hour walk from the nearest road. It was hoped that by interviewing at least three authors from each case, selected from more than one village, that a representative sampling would result. In total, discussions and interviews were held with 12 women from 6 villages who had authored LGM texts. The interviews and discussions covered a wide range of topics, and were usually conducted in the presence of a local NGO staff person who acted as translator and guide. While some interviews were done individually, most were conducted in the presence of children, extended family and neighbors, who would stop by to observe. Although I could speak and understand some Nepali, these guides from the organization were extremely helpful and supportive in conducting the interviews and were well known in the communities.

In addition to the authors, 28 readers were also interviewed regarding the LGM texts. Readers refers to village women who had used the LGM texts and other textbooks during their basic literacy and post-literacy classes. These readers of the LGM texts were interviewed about their opinions and reactions to the LGM texts in the

context of their daily lives. While some interviews were prearranged, most were spontaneous meetings, held by the pathside, on a porch and in the homes of the readers. In this respect, the selection of authors and readers was random, often depending on who was at home when we visited or who happened to stop by. In all interviews, I carried copies of the LGM text and other literacy materials used by the readers for their reference during the interview.

Examples of the LGM texts from each case were also collected and translated. Linguistic analysis of the texts' Nepali usage was conducted by several professionals, whose comments and analyses of style, syntax and vocabulary were extremely useful. Discussion and analysis of linguistic, editorial and layout aspects of the LGM texts were also carried out with authors and readers in the village. Office staff and trainers who were involved in the editing, design and production of the texts were also interviewed regarding the processes followed and rationale for the approaches and decisions taken.

In reviewing socio-cultural contexts of the program sites where the cases took place, one must consider that Nepal is made up of almost 40 distinct ethnic groups, speaking distinct languages and living diverse life styles (CBS, 1991). These ethnic differences are also influenced by ecological diversity, with Himalayan peoples living completely differently than Tarai dwellers, who live on the plains along the Indian border. In this respect, a

literature review was required of the peoples and contexts of the cases, which was supplemented by discussions with project staff and local acquaintances. This understanding of the socio-cultural aspects of the three cases was supported by over three years which I have spent in Nepal since 1991. Literature reviews of related anthropological, sociological and historical texts on Nepal, as well as interviews with community members and NGO staff, help place the LGM initiatives in the larger social context in which the texts were produced.

D. Personal Role with LGM

In terms of personal history, I first practiced LGM activities as an adult basic education instructor in New York City in the 1980s. There, teaching basic English conversation and literacy skills with immigrants and refugees, LGM activities were common features of classes. LGM activities in these programs in New York used writing files, group sharing and editing, and opinion polls and surveys to produce collections of class writings, newsletters, letters to officials and more (Gillespie, 1990; Martin, 1989; Meyers, 1991). In my doctoral studies, these experiences were given theoretical reinforcement with the prospect of application in less developed countries. In 1990, as the lead trainer at the 6-week Literacy Summer Institute supported by the Center for International Education, UMass and World Education, I was able to

introduce LGM concepts and methods to adult literacy professionals from Thailand, Bangladesh, Lesotho and Nepal. Their reactions were extremely positive and deepened my interest in applying LGM as a tool for development.

In December of 1991, in Kathmandu as a tourist, I conducted a half-day workshop on LGM at the United Nations conference room. The meeting was attended by UN agencies and other donors, as well as by government and NGO officials and some field based practitioners. Several of the participants from the Literacy Summer Institute were also in attendance. As a result of the workshop, I was invited to return to Nepal in April 1992 to conduct a one week LGM TOT (Training Of Trainers). The workshop was conducted with Udaya Manandhar of Save the Children USA (SCF US), a participant of the Literacy Summer Institute. At this 5-day LGM TOT, there were 18 participants (adult NFE trainers) from 10 NGOs, including participants from the three cases selected.

My personal involvement in the three cases in Nepal varied. In the case of World Education, I was present at the first writers' workshop as resource person with two World Education staff. In the following two writers workshops, and in the editing and production process, however, I was not involved. In the case of BASE, although I had no direct involvement in conducting LGM activities, I did provide technical and financial inputs in my role as UNICEF staff person. Technically, three BASE staff attended

the LGM TOT, while I also reviewed BASE's proposal to UNICEF, provided input into to the proposed plan and monitored the outcomes after UNICEF agreed to provide funds. In the case of ACAP, one staff person joined the LGM TOT planned and conducted the LGM activities with support from Udaya Manandhar. In this case, I was not aware of the progress until after the first LGM text had been produced.

There has been an on-going tension between my role as researcher, my role as UNICEF Project Officer and my role as friend and advisor. Researchers should be conscious of their influence on the cases they are studying. During my visits to sites, taken during my personal leave time from the office, I was conscious of my identity as potential donor during my interactions with program staff. Similarly, as an advisor and later friend to many of the program staff, it was difficult not to share my recommendation or opinions when asked about the LGM activities being implemented. While this certainly had some influence on the cases, what is presented in this study is the work of Nepali professionals who have initiated LGM activities in their own way and for their own reasons. Credit and cause lies with these professionals, the participants and their programs, and not with this researcher.

E. Organization of Chapters

This paper is divided into nine chapters. Following this introduction is a chapter which reviews the two main paradigms which are directing assumptions about programs for adult illiterates. Theories on the nature of literacy and the approaches to instruction have been presented in two contrasting paradigms: expert-driven and participatory. This review of literacy theory is followed in the third chapter by a review of LGM methods, including theories and rationale as well as examples of selected efforts at LGM globally and regionally. The fourth chapter provides contextual information about Nepal, including social, cultural and historical analysis, the patterns of adult literacy activities and a general review of LGM usage to date.

This is followed by the three case study chapters. Each case study is made up of five sections. The cases begin with a description of the implementing organization, including objectives, history and description of on-going activities. This is followed by a socio-cultural section, which reviews the context of the villages, authors and readers. This section is followed by a more detailed description of the organization's current activities in relation to the authors' and readers', and the villages visited. A section is then devoted to the rationale and process followed by the organization in implementing LGM methods, including descriptions of the planning, the

writing workshops, the editing process and the final product. Linguistic analysis of the products and LGM texts is also included in this section. Each case concludes with a section on the use of LGM, which describes the organizational use of the LGM texts, comments and feedback from authors and readers, and a general analysis of the impact.

The thesis concludes with two final chapters. The eighth chapter compares the findings of the three cases, based on the three rationale given in support of LGM: process; product; and participatory action. Key issues which are common across cases as well as those issues of unique interest or potential, are also raised. The final chapter includes recommendations for LGM practice in Nepal, as well as general recommendations for the use of LGM methods and activities in other less developed countries. This is followed by the final chapter, the conclusion. The Appendixes include relevant maps, profiles of the authors, lists of LGM titles by year and examples of pages from LGM texts with translation.

C H A P T E R I I

APPROACHES TO ADULT LITERACY

A. Introduction

There has been relatively little research done in the area of adult literacy acquisition and the impacts of literacy on new literates. Academics and practitioners in adult literacy today report the vital role which literacy plays in psychological, analytical and critical growth of human consciousness, but the assumptions have yet to be supported by a solid body of research. Research on the impact of literacy in less developed countries, especially in relation to maternal health, infant mortality or economic status have found positive correlations, especially when factoring in the effects of schooling and longer terms of instruction (Comings, 1995; LeVine, 1991). There have been no clear cause-effect relations shown by researchers, however, between individual or mass acquisition of literacy and achievements in any these indicators. Recent studies are showing that literacy in and of itself does not bring about "higher" or substantially different critical and abstract thinking skills, but that particular uses of literacy may have such impacts (Cole & Gay, 1972; LeVine, 1991; Rogers, 1994; Scribner & Cole, 1981b).

Sylvia Scribner, in her article Literacy in Three Metaphors (1984) gives a clear and concise overview on the

beliefs and social motivations which surround adult literacy programs and campaigns. These metaphors she defines as adaptation, power and state of grace. The first, adaptation, views literacy acquisition as a means of gaining the increased levels of proficiency and performance which are required of life in a modern society. Functional literacy programs and basic technical/vocational education programs view literacy from this perspective. In the second metaphor, power, Scribner emphasizes the relationship between literacy and both individual and national advancement as a result of access to knowledge and economic gain (Scribner, 1978). Human liberation and democracy are perceived as outcomes of literacy, and economic growth and social development have all been viewed as natural outcomes of mass literacy (Inkeles & Smith, 1974; McClellend, 1984; Rostow, 1964; Scribner, 1978).

Literacy as grace refers to the spiritual and psychological applications of literacy and its role in self-actualization. It also applies to the transformative shift in cognitive capacity and critical thinking which illiterate individuals and societies are believed to undergo after becoming literate (Scribner, 1984). In the early literacy campaigns in Northern Europe in the 18th and 19th century, which were led by Protestant Reformers, there was a pervading belief in the 'molding power of education.' Literacy enabled men and women to read the bible, to exercise their god given power of reason, and to choose

early grades, these children struggled in school with the mainstream literacy. With the low income blacks there was greatest difference between home and school literacy practices. Home literacy practices in this context involved group interactions with the written text, reading out loud with running verbal commentary and imaginative and creative story telling in answer to direct questions about the text. These children had a very difficult time making the transition from home to the mainstream literacy practices of school (Fox, 1994; Heath, 1983; 1988).

The participatory approach to literacy does not view literacy and illiteracy as a clearly demarcated divide with universal definitions. Literacy is a set of practices which involves individuals in interacting with print and symbols in a particular context. Being literate in a supermarket is different than being literate in a court of law or in a university department of philosophy. In most societies, even those adults who are unable to read and write are still able to cope with literacy interactions, using many different strategies. As Rogers states, "All adults - literate and non-literate - are engaged in literacy practices, dealing with literacy events" (1994, p. 47). From this perspective, sweeping divisions and staged continuums between illiterates and literates are openly challenged, as are national literacy figures based on examinations (Fingeret, 1984; Hunter & Harman, 1979; Street, 1990).

right from wrong, which also laid the groundwork for stable society. In order to be members of Swedish churches in the 1880s, families needed to be literate so that they could read the Bible at home (Arnove & Gaff, 1987; Gawthrop, 1987; Johansson, 1987). A more pervading belief related to grace has been the theories that literates are capable of critical thinking, abstract reasoning and history, while illiterate individuals and societies are not (Goody, 1986; Havelock, 1986; Ong, 1982). This aspect of grace will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

If we analyze trends and influences in the theories and practices surrounding adult literacy acquisition and instruction over the past 50 years, there have been two major movements. The first, which is the traditional and dominant paradigm, has been labelled for the purpose of this dissertation as expert-driven. This paradigm has been greatly influenced by positivism and the expansion of rationale scientific thought from the natural sciences to the social sciences over the past 500 years. The second paradigm, which has been gaining acceptance and influence over the past 15 to 20 years, can be characterized by the term participatory. This paradigm stresses the social nature of literacy, the importance of learner participation, and the political nature of education. Literacy programs that do not actively use education as a liberating or empowering process are viewed as contributing

to the social inequities found in the status quo (Freire, 1985; Giroux, 1983; Illich, 1979).

This chapter will review both of these approaches and their effects on instructional practices in adult literacy programs. In this respect, LGM will be placed in the larger movement of participatory approaches with the stress on learner involvement in the learning process, in the production of materials and in linking learning to action.

B. Expert-Driven Approaches to Literacy

In analyzing adult literacy programs, especially the campaigns of the past 50 years, the major theories and assumptions shaping practice have been arbitrarily labelled expert-driven. To better understand this term, it is necessary to explore the nature of positivism. As the dominant paradigm in the social sciences, positivism has left an indelible print on current beliefs, approaches and practices of adult literacy today. Capra, in his classic book, "The Turning Point" traces positivism's roots to the European scientific traditions of Bacon, Descartes and Newton, from where it expanded its purview from the physical to the social sciences (Capra, 1982; Merchant, 1980; Vrooman, 1970).

As applied to the natural sciences, reason was viewed as capable of explaining all natural phenomenon in terms of mechanical principles and cause-effect relations. Newton, the father of "modern" scientific exploration combined the

inductive, empirical experimentation of Bacon with the rationale, deductive, first principles of Descartes. This blending of previously opposed camps of scientific exploration resulted in the creation of the basis for modern science. A key assumption for Newton was that all phenomena could be reduced to physical elements, which were in turn controlled by the rules which governed all matter. By analyzing and understanding these rules, and the principles which dictated the relations between matter, a systematic body of knowledge and truth could be created. Newton's approach to knowledge and science was successfully applied by later generations of natural scientists to planetary motion, to liquids and gasses and to the study of species. In all instances, the rationale application of scientific inquiry was believed to lead to truth regarding the nature of these properties and the rules which governed their existence, interaction, and relations.

The use of scientific reason as a tool for extracting from nature her truths, and then using these truths to control, harness and master the natural world, has dominated modern Western thinking. Acceptable knowledge and scientific fact was necessarily based on sensory perception of measurable objects and events. Soon after Newton, scientific principles and laws were being discovered and applied to all aspects of nature, including mankind. As Capra in his work "The Turning Point" states:

> Following Newton's physics . . . Locke attempted to reduce the patterns observed in society to the

> behaviour of its individuals. Thus he proceeded to study first the nature of the individual human being, and then tried to apply the principles of human nature to economic and political problems. (1982, 55)

The effect of this paradigm on the thinking and beliefs of modern humankind has been termed 'hegemonic' by Gramsci and others: an all pervading grip on reality which does not allow for reflection on its own nature. The hegemonic nature of positivism has led modern scientists to devalue all other ways of knowing outside of linear, logical and well reasoned thought, as represented by formulae, rules or essays (Boggs, 1984; Forester, 1985; Gramsci, 1971). As discussed by Fay (1975), Park (1993), Habermas (1984), and others, positivism as applied to the social sciences believes that rational science is the key to, and the measure of, human development and progress. This has had a direct impact on how we, as individuals in modern societies, view ourselves, our societies, and the world around us. Authority in science has shifted over the past three centuries from math to biology and later to chemistry and physics. Claims have been made by each as to their ability to apply the rules of their discipline for the understanding of all things. In the 1960's, Loeb and other chemists were bold enough to profess that "living organisms are chemical machines possessing the peculiarity of preserving and reproducing themselves" (Capra, 1982; Randall, 1976).

In terms of scientific educational practices, the work of Skinner (1953; 1975) and other Newtonian psychologists most demonstrates the influence of positivism. By reducing behavioral change and modification to combinations of stimuli and responses, behaviorism became the psychology of learning and education. What guided Skinner's efforts, and the educationists he has influenced, is the belief in the existence of a "technology of behaviour . . comparable in power and precision to physical and biological technology" (in Capra, 1982, p. 181). Standards of modern curriculum development, for example, as established by Bruner, Tyler, and others, reflects this unflagging belief in the ability of experts to design a path of structured stimuli leading to prescribed levels of learner responses and outcomes.

As discussed by Fay and Park, positivism alleges that neutral and bias free knowledge can be rationally applied to the social sciences, thereby leading the researcher to provable knowledge and universal truths about human endeavors (Fay, 1975; Forester, 1985; Park, 1993). Habermas and the Frankfurt School of critical theorists claim that "Western science" since the Renaissance has been so dominated by positivism that only one form of knowledge is considered valid today. This form of knowledge is often referred to as instrumental knowledge, rational-purposive knowledge or knowledge for control. (Fay, 1975; Habermas, 1970; 1972; 1984; Park, 1993; Wuthnow, 1984). As Park states in his article "What Is Participatory Research"

> Instrumental knowledge derives its ability to control external events from the structure of explanatory theories, which are made up of a series of equations essentially expressing causal relationships. Natural sciences produce knowledge under the methodological dictate that strictly externalizes the object of inquiry and separates it from the investigating subject. . . The claim to the value-neutral status, which apologists of natural science assert as an unreflected dogma, is largely based on this methodological posture. (1993, p. 5)

Instrumental knowledge, as an 'anti-social science' puts specialists in control over the production of scientific knowledge and validation facts. From this scientific hubris, a position which does not allow for critical reflection, science does not view itself as a biased product of culture, but as the value free and pure root of knowledge (Fals-Borda, 1984; Habermas, 1970; Park, 1992; Wuthnow, 1984). Application of this paradigm to the social sciences has quantified human potential and social conditions, using hard data and numbers such as GNP, salary, IQ scores, life expectancy and other 'vital' statistics to measure and rank individuals and societies. This quantification of all phenomenon has supported positivism's reliance on stage theories, with gradations of development measured by discrete components (Fay, 1975; Forrester, 1985; Rostow, 1964; Seidman; 1989).

In education, traditional scholars have tried to practice objectivity in their research and to maintain distance between the knower and known. As a result, traditional academics are perceived as working from ivory towers when developing educational theories and

instructional approaches, as maintaining subject-object dichotomies in research, and as relying on universalized stages of growth and learning in designing curricula (Giroux, 1988; Illich, 1979; Macedo, 1993).

In contrast to instrumental knowledge, Habermas identifies two other ways of knowing: interactive knowledge which stresses human community and connectedness; and critical knowledge which refers to knowledge based on reflection and action and which deliberates on what is right and just. All three forms of knowledge make up the "human cognitive constitution", giving definition and basis for social relations and actions. (Habermas, 1984; Hall, 1991; Park, 1993). These other ways of knowing, however, have been increasingly marginalized as instrumental knowledge has expanded from the natural sciences to become the dominant paradigm of the social sciences. It is the outcome of this hegemonic grip of instrumental knowledge on human relations with the world and with each other, and in the case of this dissertation on approaches to adult literacy, which is referred to as expert-driven (Fay, 1975; Gramsci, 1971; Habermas, 1992; Park, 1993; Wuthnow, 1984).

The effects of positivism on traditional adult literacy theories and practices has been tremendous. Obvious examples are the literacy campaigns of the 1950s and '60s which treated illiteracy as a disease which should be eradicated and which modelled themselves after malaria and small pox campaigns (Levin, 1981). A more subtle

influence, however, is the belief that literacy is something which can be definitively measured and judged. It is widely believed that by developing and administering an examination, one can determine whether an individual is literate or illiterate. This state of being literate, scientifically defined and determined by experts, has become universalized. Regardless of the context or language, the definition of literacy as applied to surveys does not vary to any great degree from country to country. Statistical charts can tell us the exact literacy rates for every nation on earth, sometimes to two decimal points, implying a precision which is unsubstantiated (UNESCO, 1984; UNDP, 1994; UNICEF, 1995).

As a quantifiable skill, literacy has been taught as though it required the simple mastery of a set of discrete skills to enable the coding and decoding of symbols. Scientifically developed curricula, methods and materials, designed by experts, are supposed to lead illiterates in any culture or context to a state of literacy. As a result, literacy acquisition has been dominated by linguists and grammarians utilizing phonics based approaches, starting with the smallest components and letter recognition before moving on to more complex stages, such as the recognition and repetition of clusters of letters. Only after mastering the pieces are learners allowed to start using print for meaning, often reading aloud tightly controlled, graded vocabulary lists. Basal readers provide stories whose

sentences only contain certain letters or vowel sounds, and who surrender meaning and reader interest to the science of linguistics (Bhola, 1980; Chall, 1979; Greene, 1989; Laubach, 1969; Ouane, Armengol, & Sharma, 1990).

In keeping with positivism reliance on stage theories, expert-driven adult literacy approaches have defined a wide range of levels. Bhola categorizes the stages of literacy as illiteracy, pre-literacy, literacy, post-literacy and independent learner (1980). UNESCO PROAP now identifies 5 stages: illiterate, semi-literate, neo-literate, adequate functional literate, and autonomous learners (1993). Each stage of literacy that the learner must pass through has its own specialized curricula, complexity, learning activities and vocabulary levels. Currently, literacy stage theorists, while maintaining that there is distinct difference between illiteracy and literacy, support the notion of stages in a continuum, giving some fluidity and contextual recognition to the various levels defined (Bhola, 1983; Ouane, 1989; Rogers, 1994; Street, 1984).

There are many examples of 'scientific and value free' basic literacy primers which have been developed by experts in French and English and then translated into local languages for use other countries (Bhola, 1983; Bordia & Carrion, 1985; Rogers, 1994; Street, 1990; UNESCO PROAP, 1988). Within the field of adult literacy, a number of sub-fields have also been established. Large bodies of literature exist in the areas of adult illiteracy, pre-

literacy, post-literacy, functional literacy, curriculum development, materials development, testing, instructional methodologies and more (Arnove & Graff, 1987; Bhola, 1983; Ouane, 1989). As can be expected, each stage and sub-field has spawned scores of experts and theorists who populate university departments and publishing houses and support the general academic industry.

Not only do adult learners go through stages, but so do the nations in which they become literate. Rostow and McLelland both identified literacy as key elements in lifting nations out of the lower stages and into the higher levels of national development. In the early 1960s, Anderson's research concluded that a national literacy level of 40% was a requisite for economic take-off in third world countries. This research was often quoted in support of literacy campaigns of the 1960s and '70s. As modernization theories and human development programs received increasing attention and funding during the 1970s, education and literacy were viewed as a means of improving quality of life and increasing GNP figures (Anderson & Bowman, 1963; Coombs, 1985; McClelland, 1984; Myrdal, 1968).

A more significant influence of positivism on literacy, however, has been the belief by experts that literate and illiterate individuals and societies are fundamentally different. In this respect, human potential is somehow fulfilled in the act of becoming literate, a

state which is transformative on both a personal and social level (Goody, 1986; Goody & Watt, 1988; McCluhan, 1964; Olson, 1977; Ong, 1988). Outcomes attributed to the literate state of grace, to use Scribner's term, include critical and abstract thinking, historical sense, syllogism and rational objectivity, which in turn are qualities found lacking in oral societies and illiterates (Cole & Gay, 1972; Gee, 1990; Goody, 1986; Goody & Watt, 1968; Havelock, 1988; Ong, 1982).

Erik Havelock has been writing since the 1950s on the transformation of western culture which occurred when the Greeks invented the phonic alphabet. This symbolic system allowed for mass literacy, which radically transformed both social organizations and structures and the individuals which made up Greek society. According to Havelock, literacy, seen as a requisite for advanced reasoning skills, helped build a society of critical thinkers and popular academics who could write, read and contribute democratically to social, cultural and economic life. Mass literacy in Greece then led to a transformed educational system, to the public circulation of texts and to greater self education. For these reasons, Havelock argues, literate Greece is the root of European civilization (Goody, 1986; Havelock, 1952; Havelock, 1986; Olson, 1977).

Olson (1977), Goody (1986), and Ong (1982) have been the most seminal thinkers in support of this divide between literates and illiterates. To use Street's analysis, this

"autonomous model" of literacy believes that the act of reading and writing requires abstract thinking and critical speculation. This is seen as inherent in the fact that written text needs no interlocutor. The individual, alone and directly, interfaces with language as ink on paper. This is believed to necessitate a greater explicitness and unambiguousness of meaning than oral communication. Readers, unconsciously employing de-contextualized deep structures, can cull from a text its "autonomous" meaning. These cognitive skills, considered inherent in all acts of literacy, foster and require different sets of thinking skills. These thinking skills are viewed as different from and ascendent over the thinking skills of oral societies and illiterates, for whom communication remains oral and dependent upon shared context and proximity (Street, 1984; 1990; 1993). Olson, quoted in Street, eloquently expresses this belief:

> . . . when writing began to serve the memory function, the mind could be redeployed to carry out more analytic activities such as examining contradictions and deriving logical implications. It is the availability of an explicit written record and its use for representing thought that impart to literacy its distinctive properties. (1993, p. 5)

This expert-driven belief has been increasingly challenged in recent years, especially by anthropologists and socio-linguists. Scribner and Cole, two psychologists, raise objections to these assumptions held by dominant theorists. Traditional claims on the effect of literacy on the individual are extrapolated by scholars who use

historical studies of cultural and social changes, or generalizations based on context-independent abstract thought . . . that lack clear-cut empirical tests. In their view,

> We not only lack evidence for theoretical speculations about the relationship between writing and thinking, but in our opinion, the model of writing which underlies most psychological theorizing is too restricted to serve as a guide for the necessary research. (1981, p. 60)

The psychological and cognitive changes attributed to literacy and the beliefs in its transformative and empowering nature, are unquestioned by most educationists, literacy campaigners and development workers. The development of individual potential, which is measured in stages, is commonly viewed as dependent upon higher reasoning and abstract thinking skills, which in turn are dependent upon literacy. Illiterates, in this view, inhabit the lower stages of growth, when calculated in terms of human potential. This belief in the deficiency of illiterates has had tremendous impacts, not only on educationists, but also on development theorists, policy makers and national leaders. It is summed up eloquently by Gunnar Myrdal:

> . . . illiterate people tend to resist change and cling to traditional forms of life, while modernization of social life demands revolutionary changes in the accepted pattern. Illiteracy among the masses is inconsistent with the spirit of the age in which scientific and technical progress determines the way of life and standards of living. New ideas and new practices

> cannot be effectively communicated to minds which are untrained to receive them or make use of them. (Myrdal, 1968, p. 1668)

Even Paulo Freire supported this lack of faith in the capacity of illiterates by linking illiteracy directly to "magical consciousness," the lack of awareness about self in relation to society and which surrenders to reality as inevitable (Brown, 1970; Freire, 1970; 1971; Werner & Bower, 1982). Freire gave the lead role in his pedagogy to experts, who were required to investigate illiterates and create for them generative themes based on their realities. In Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Freire quotes Mao when describing the process of re-presentation to the masses in a clear, organized and systematized way, what we have received from them confusedly (1972, p. 82). With complete faith in the sensitive social scientist, Freire's colleague in his early efforts, Dr. Teixeira, describes this process saying: "The words, the sentences, the phrases are those that would inevitably occur to the non-literate if he himself were writing his own primer" (Brown, 1970, p. 24).

Vygotsky, in the 1920s and '30s, was one of the first psychologists to deeply analyze these assumptions on the impact of language and literacy on thought. His work, written in Russian, was unfortunately not translated into English until the 1960s. Using dialectic materialism to explore effects of orality and literacy, Vygotsky likened script to a tool, in Engels' definition, whose symbol

system restructured mental activity. While basic psychological processes, including abstraction, generalization and inference, are common to all humankind, their functional organization into higher psychological processes were seen as dependent upon the symbol systems available. Written symbols and literacy systems were believed to have considerable impact on the intellectual processes and the formation of higher forms of thinking (Cole & Bruner, 1971; Cole & Gay, 1972; Scribner & Cole, 1981, Vygotsky, 1978).

Vygotsky, however, died at the age of 34, before he was able to test his hypotheses in the field. One of his students, Luria, did carry out experiments on illiterate and literate peasant farmers in Central Asia. This research was initiated to investigate the relation between literacy and higher reasoning faculties and to compare results of illiterate and literate farmers. Luria's research used word association, perception, classification, reasoning tasks and games to support and prove Vygotsky's beliefs on the ascendancy of literate consciousness. Unfortunately, the covariation of literacy and schooling, a serious obstacle to research of this kind, was not factored, nor were the cultural and contextual bias of the experiments and tasks which the subjects were required to perform. As a result, the findings have little to no validity today (Luria, 1976; Scribner & Cole, 1981).

With this traditional bias and theorization against the sophistication of oral societies and on the intellect and awareness of illiterates, it is not surprising that there has been little call for their participation in planning or designing of adult literacy programs. Besides the low intellectual status afforded illiterates, learner involvement in curriculum and materials development was further stymied by the view that this is a specialized field whose mastery requires lengthy study and technical training. Besides challenging some of the basic assumptions about illiteracy, LGM methods can be perceived as endangering the status and livelihood of curriculum developers and literacy materials specialists. Nonetheless, as a result of recent participatory approaches to literacy and learner centered instruction, increased levels of involvement by learners in curriculum and materials development are beginning to take hold (Arnove & Gaff, 1987; Bhola, 1984; Rogers, 1994; UNESCO, 1979; 1981).

C. Participatory Approaches to Literacy

In the past 20 years, many of the fundamental beliefs and practices surrounding traditional approaches to adult literacy have been questioned. The most concerted movement which can be seen to challenge the expert-driven paradigm in the field of adult education and literacy can be subsumed under the term "participatory." The unifying and cohesive factor which binds together the various theorists

and practitioners of the participatory, "counter-hegemonic" approach to literacy is the belief that education itself is a political act, that literacy is a contextual event and that all learners are experts and knowers in their own right who should be at the center of the learning process (Fingeret, 1989; Freire, 1972; Freire, 1981; Jurmo, 1989; Street, 1984).

From a theoretical framework, the most influential "participatory literacy" theorist today is Brian Street, who uses the term ideological model to describe the premise of these "new literacy studies." Street, an anthropologist, focuses on the contextual aspects of literacy, highlighting the nature of reading and writing as a social act. Scribner, a professor of psychology, has focussed on literacy as a cultural system and examines its influence on modes of thought and states that literacy is a "social achievement . . . an outcome of cultural transmission acquired in the course of participation in socially organized activities" (1984, p. 72). With a belief in the social-cultural nature of literacy comes acceptance in the many diverse literacies found in any language, state or community (Rogers, 1994; Street, 1984, Street, 1993; Willinsky, 1990). As Street and others argue, the narrow contextual parameters imposed by Anglo-American linguists ignores "wider parameters" of kinship, conceptual systems, political structures and the broader social and cultural constructs which gives print its meaning.

> Where for instance educationists and psychologists have focussed on discrete elements of reading and writing skills, anthropologists and sociolinguists concentrate on literacies - the social practices and conceptions of reading and writing. The rich cultural variation in these practices and conceptions leads us to rethink what we mean by them and to be wary of assuming a single literacy where we may simply be imposing assumptions derived from our own cultural practice onto other people's literacies. (1990, p. 1)

In their work with the Mende secret societies in Sierra Leone, where access to knowledge provides successive degrees of power and hierarchical control, writing is used to maintain secrecy and for exclusion of the uninitiated. Relying solely on lexical devices for encoding and decoding the meaning of ink and paper would completely miss the real meaning in the context of Mende society, where written texts denote institutional control, the management of knowledge and hierarchies of power (Bledsoe & Robey, 1986: Street, 1994). Similarly, in 12th century England, the demonstration of literacy in Latin enabled nobility charged with crimes to escape capital punishment. The text itself has little relevance or meaning in relation to the social implications of the act of reading (Street, 1984; 1990).

An incontrovertible link is seen to exist between literacy and the cultures and contexts in which it is practiced and used. The values and status attached to literacy, the ends to which it is put and the varied contexts and uses in which is practiced vary from group to group, sub-culture to sub-culture (Reder, 1985; Robinson, 1988; Scribner & Cole, 1981; Street, 1984). Within any

given society, therefore, hierarchies of literacy practices also exist, with established norms for good (dominant) literacies. Traditionally, dominant forms of literacy were not recognized as being socially constructed and chosen, but were viewed as forms whose dominance were naturally selected. The styles, expressions and dialects of minority groups and disadvantaged classes were considered incorrect or subordinate forms of literacy, not as unique forms which were valid in their own right. Education and schools reinforced the dominant literacy types, giving advantage to those who practiced dominant literacies in their own homes. The gate-keeping role of education was reinforced by the choice of dominant literacies, both of which maintained the status quo regarding access to knowledge and power (Auerbach, 1992; Goulet, 1974; LaBelle, 1986; Illich, 1979; Street, 1984).

In her work with middle income whites, low income whites, and low income blacks in North Carolina, Shirley Brice Heath found great variations in the way literacy was practiced by the communities and families. School literacy and the social contexts of the classroom were most closely resembled by the home literacy practices of white middle class children. These included the essay approach to formulating and structuring thought and correct answers to comprehension questions being quoted verbatim from the reading passages. For low income whites, home literacy practices were less similar to school literacy and in the

Similarly, Street views the expert-driven belief in the universality of approaches and methods to literacy instruction as symptomatic of the "paternalism of cultural relativism" which is found throughout the works of Bhola and other "autonomous" literacy campaigners. In contrast, ideological approaches are based on the premise that there are many literacies, and that acquisition and relevance will be enhanced if one starts with who the learners are and what they already know (Street, 1983; 1984). Arlene Fingeret, in her Adult Literacy Education: Current and Future Directions, notes that current trends towards whole language and the writing process should be seen in the context of the participatory literacy practices, which stress the importance of meaningful context, treats the learner as a knower and starts with what the learner knows (Chall, 1979; Fingeret, 1983, 1984, 1989; Smith, 1983).

As a result, the learning environment in participatory programs will often start with what the participants know or want to learn rather than with determined course books or set curriculum. The teacher and learner together are responsible for developing activities and exercises based on learner interest, experience and knowledge. Fingeret, in Participatory Literacy Education, states that participation is "based on the belief that learners - their characteristics, aspirations, backgrounds and needs -

should be at the center of literacy instruction" (1989, p. 5).

Increased levels of adult learner involvement are also supported by the work of Knowles and other adult learning theorists. While not always viewing education as a political act, and therefore not necessarily participatory in this sense, adult learning theorists still had considerable influence on the approaches and methods for learning utilized by later participatory adult literacy programs. By focussing his research on adults as learners, Knowles challenged the "childomorphic" tradition of pedagogy by establishing "androgogy" as a new field of educational research. While deductive approaches, rote learning and didactic methods may have worked well with young children, Knowles claimed that such approaches were less successful with adults. Knowles believed that since adults were already mature and full of experience, adult learning should be self-paced, experiential, relevant, self-directed, and self-centered. This opened up a wide range of alternative approaches and classroom practices in adult language courses, adult basic literacy programs and higher education (Allman, 1986; Kitt, 19xx; Knowles, 1975; Woodruff & Walsh, 1975).

Adult learner-centered instruction has been supported by more recent research in the field of second language acquisition. While children may appear to acquire second languages more quickly and easily than adults, this is the

result of the affective element, not intellectual capacity or ability. Adults have much greater fear about making mistakes and become self-conscious during performance, which results in mistakes which make adults more self-conscious. With children, especially at young ages, self-consciousness and high expectations are not real problems. Stephen Krashen, a leading researcher in this field, refers to the "affective filter," which must be lowered in order for adults to learn at their full potential. Teaching and learning strategies for adults, therefore, need to foster a greater sense of comfort and success in the classroom, where mistakes are not bad and where learning by doing is fun and not painful (Krashen, 1985; 1982; Stevick, 1976).

As stated earlier, the political nature of education has led many practitioners in participatory literacy programs to address structural causes of oppression as part of the learning process (Barndt, 1991; Fals Borda, 1984; Freire, 1970, 1985). From this deeper analysis of systemic oppression of marginalized groups through educational practice, participatory approaches to adult basic education and literacy attempt to actively challenge social inequalities through participant involvement in the planning, managing, decision making, and instructional aspects of their basic education and/or community based programs (Fingeret, 1983; Jurmo, 1989; Kozol, 1985). Rather than view literacy as a higher stage of human development and as a requisite for participation, participatory

approaches treat literates and illiterates with equal respect as knowers. The traditional administrative structures, the depersonalized and uniform teaching strategies and the staff-powerful vs. participant-powerless dichotomies inherent in most programs are actively challenged (Fay, 1975; Giroux, 1983; Jurmo, 1989). As Fingeret states:

> The traditional literacy education model places skills at the center and implies a hierarchical relationship between educators (who know the skills) and students (who "need" to learn the skills). Thus, learners in participatory efforts help to define, create, and maintain the program; those in traditional programs are merely asked to receive it. (1989, p. 5)

The traditional justification of the need for experts and the exclusion of learners participation in the literacy acquisition process is the positivistic assumption that illiterates and literates are fundamentally different. There is little point in promoting illiterates as decision makers or as equal participants in their learning process if they are lacking in critical reasoning and abstract thinking skills. In the forefront of the research challenging this assumption are Scribner and Cole, and their work with the Vai people of Liberia. The Vai are a small tribe of the Mende ethnic group who have practiced an indigenous writing system with their own script for over 100 years. Vai literacy is used for correspondence and exchange, as well as for record and diary keeping. While not all Vai people are literate, some Vai have also acquired Arabic literacy through Quranic instruction, while

others have acquired English literacy through formal schooling. There are also cases of Vais being literate in more than one language/script (Scribner, 1978; Scribner & Cole, 1981).

A battery of tests and experiments were developed to determine proficiency of Vai illiterates, Vai language literates, Arabic language literates and English language literates. Performance in the areas of abstraction (sorting with explanation), classification, memory (free and incremental recall), logic, grammar explanations, language objectivity and communication games were recorded. Differences were found in specific areas, such as Arabic literates having greater proficiency in incremental memory, while explanation, story recall, logic and language objectivity, the English literates scored considerably higher. Literacy in and of itself, however, was not a precursor to improved critical cognitive skills.

> The selectivity of the cognitive effects associated with these literacies (Arabic and Vai) and their non-interchangeability argue against a general intelligence interpretation . . . On no task - logic, abstraction, memory, communication - did we find all non-literates performing at lower levels than all literates. (1981, p. 251)

While no real cognitive shifts are attributed to use of literacy per se, specific literacy and communication practices, however, were shown to have a direct correlation to proficiency in specific cognitive skills. The effects of schooling and the cultural context of literacy use were found to be pivotal factors in the performance on many

critical thinking tasks. In their study, Scribner and Cole found that urban experience was the greatest determinant of abilities in taxonomic classification while schooling proved the highest ranking determinant in talking about tasks, such as the explanation of sorting, grammatical rules and game instructions, as well as in answers to theoretical questions. These thinking skills and cognitive patterns are usually ranked most highly by western society and are supported by the essay, empirical styles and the verbal communication patterns practiced in schools.

In a similar vein, LeVine's work in Mexico did not find literacy, in and of itself, to have any tangible impact on child care or the health practices of mothers. The number of years of schooling, however, were shown to play a significant role. A major outcome of schooling and proficiency in school based literacies is the ability to be conversant with de-contextualized language. This was evidenced by the educated mothers in Mexico who were able to handle, with greater confidence and comprehension, the discourse of the health clinic, leading to increased medical and contraceptive use (LeVine, 1991). LeVine's research also found that "mothers who attended school longer have adopted a pedagogical style of mother-infant interaction whose goal is to promote verbal communication, which in turn helped these children's later performance is school (p. 488).

In research from Bangladesh, Lindebaum found that literacy and schooling effected how mothers treated their children's health without changing their traditional health beliefs. Spirits and the effects of gods are still viewed as the primary determinants of health status. Through education, however, mothers have acquired a "hygienic code of conduct." The impact of education rests on the influence on women's behaviour, and not necessarily the assumptions and beliefs which originally guided these behaviors. LeVine summarizes these findings as follows:

> These women differ from their uneducated counterparts not in their beliefs about disease but in a heightened concern with the socially appropriate physical appearance of themselves and their children, thereby ensuring cleanliness and inadvertently providing protection against the risk of lethal infections. The emphasis here is on schooling as motivating the desire to emulate socially visible middle class behaviour, carried over to the maternal role without altering the women's health beliefs. (1991, p. 485)

The real impact of literacy, therefore, is an impact from literacy use, not from its acquisition. Alan Rogers, in his recent work Using Literacy, refers to the traditional assumptions which place stress on independent learning rather than on independent use of literacy skills. Guided by the belief that illiterates require direct support and close assistance in acquiring literacy, "primer-based instruction tends to encourage dependency of the learner on the teacher and the text" (p. 4). The goals of instruction are literacy retention, developmental goals, and socialization, while actual literacy use in situations

that are real and meaningful to the learners is often ignored. Current adult literacy programs are marked by a disavowal of learner context and needs; the lack of "ordinary" materials in the classroom; and the lack of "real" practice and use of literacy in the instruction process (Ramaswamy, 1994; Rogers, 1994; Roy, 1975).

D. Participatory Literacy and Learner Generated Materials

Heath (1983), Fingeret (1983, 1984), Jurmo (1989) and others believe that educators must redefine the classroom uses of literacy and give value the various literacies that children bring with them from home. Learning must be made relevant and invigorating for learners and teachers should be encouraged to create activities where learners can use their literacy skills as they are acquired. Until more research is conducted on the need for contextually based literacy instruction, middle class families or, in the case of South Asia, higher castes born into the practice of dominant literacy will, by default, continue to excel in the transition from home to school, while subordinate literacy groups will struggle (Heath, 1983; 1978; Scribner & Cole, 1981).

Learner Generated Materials (LGM) as a method, fits into the larger context of a participatory literacy approach, and refers to both a process and a product. It involves classes of learners or other organized groups actively participating in the development of print

materials which are made public (Gillespie, 1989; Martin, 1989). This is different than publishing interviews with neo-literates. Yusuf Kassam's "Voices of New Literates" published eight interviews with new Tanzanian literates, discussing their beliefs about literacy, education, development and society. While this was a pioneering work featuring voices of new literates, it is not an example of LGM. The learners did not participate in developing the materials or text in any way after the interviews had been recorded (Kassam, 1979; Meyers, 1991).

In his review of LGM, Rogers has found that practitioners stress LGM methods' contribution to learner motivation, the greater relevance of content, promotion of the learning process, increased confidence of learners, and support for real usage of literacy skills, as perceived outcomes of LGM (BALID, 1993; Rogers, 1994). In particular, he highlights the contextual aspect of LGM a key element, whereby "real" materials are developed which are meaningful and culturally appropriate to the learners and their communities. In his own words, Rogers states his belief that:

> LGM is a method by which materials which are culturally appropriate can most surely be produced. To be effective, literacy and post-literacy materials need to be culturally acceptable to the users. . . one of the most effective ways in which culturally appropriate materials may be produced is providing opportunity for learners . . to write and produce what they feel is most appropriate in their specific context. The second and more important reason to encourage LGM is that in itself it provides a major learning process . . . It builds

> confidence and motivation; it encourages further learning; and it develops literacy skills through using them to achieve participant-set goals. (1994, p. 49)

Comings and Cain, in their work entitled The Participatory Process: Producing photo-literature, cite three main rationale for learner-involvement in materials production: educational philosophy, in which LGM allows learners to become the directors of their own learning; entertainment, in which LGM provides enthusiasm and motivation; and pragmatic use, in which LGM creates an adequate supply of reading materials to new literates (Comings & Cain, 1977). Voices (1988) is a Canadian journal for and by new readers, which is distributed internationally. Voices stresses its relation to and support of a learner-centered approach and finds that new readers find LGM processes and products both motivational and instructional (Lower Mainland Society for Literacy and Employment, 1988; Voices, 1988). The term LGM is intended only to give an identity and coherence to a mixture of strategies and activities which have been practiced in various forms and contexts. In the cases reviewed and examples of research found, however, LGM initiatives were grounded in participatory concepts and approaches to practice.

C H A P T E R I I I

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON LEARNER GENERATED MATERIALS

A. Introduction

In his recent review of post-literacy programs and materials development for post-literates, Alan Rogers found only a few, minor cases where adult 'learners' were part of the process. The Action Training Model (ATM), as developed in East Africa, is one of the few cases that appears to follow a participatory materials development process. ATM uses a series of three writers workshops, and supports local materials development specialists from East Africa to research, develop and refine materials in an interactive model. In this approach, the specialists trained from different countries interact with each other and with other specialists in Germany, while spending considerable time in the local context field testing and interacting with target group populations. Insofar as the African specialists are perceived as learners who are supported to develop their own post-literacy materials, the ATM strategy can be considered an LGM method, though participants are by no means adult new literates (Rogers, 1994; DSE, 1994). The few cases which Rogers found which did publish and disseminate texts written by new literates focussed almost exclusively on the product. Requests to literacy class graduates for stories and essays is followed by a review of the submissions, the selection of the most appropriate, and

the editing and production process, all carried out by organization staff without any further author input or involvement (BALID, 1993; Rogers, 1994).

The most common approach to post-literacy materials development is that followed by UNESCO in Bangkok, which launched a Asia-Pacific Programme for Education For All (APPEAL) in 1987. Under the APPEAL Programme, a post-literacy program model called ATLP (APPEAL Training Project for Literacy Personnel) was prepared for all countries of the Asia and Pacific Region. By 1992, UNESCO PROAP had produced a 12 volume series of post-literacy training materials which presented a tightly structured process and program for three levels of post-literates, as defined by UNESCO. A curriculum grid was included to provide structure to the proposed three level program. Models of post-literacy materials and chapters for learners, with accompanying detailed teacher guide lessons, were included in three exemplary volumes of the 12 volume ATLP series (UNESCO PROAP, 1992).

To promote and disseminate the materials, the volumes have been translated into over 20 languages of the region. Regional workshops over the past three years have brought together hundreds of literacy professionals to follow the model and to develop and produce post-literacy materials in English, which are then translated into local languages. At no point in the 12 volume series does ATLP mention adult learner or target group participation, but stress

observation of target groups by materials specialists and focus groups for feedback when piloting the materials. While UNESCO PROAP stresses the participatory nature of its Regional workshops and of its ATLP model in general, it has received critical feedback as a centrally produced, rigidly graded, top-down and culturally insensitive system (Rogers, 1994; UIE, 1993; UNESCO PROAP, 1992).

ATLP and other very similar systems, are setting the standard for adult post-literacy program methods. As a result, Rogers finds:

> Virtually all agencies engaged in post-literacy report that the gap between what is achieved by the end of primer-based literacy programme . . and the ability to 'learn independently' is too big for adult learners .. . What is equally clear is that primer-based literacy instruction tends to encourage dependency of the learner . . . Some different process is needed to discourage such dependency and to promote 'independence in learning.' We note from our field studies, however, that many post-literacy programs are becoming more prescriptive and more like formal education and are thus discouraging rather than encouraging real independence. (1994, p. 4)

In the case of North America and Europe, a number of participatory adult basic education programs have emerged over the past 15 years. These programs have been supported by increased academic research focussed on adult basic education and on the role and function of learner participation. Donor funding and support to implement research, as well as participatory adult programs, has also been made available. In less developed countries, with larger problems and greater needs for adult education, traditions have died hard. In context of South Asia,

ingrained cultural patterns of rote memorization and textbook dependence requires that new relationships be established between centrally dictated curricula and texts and the autonomy and creativity of the teacher in the classroom. As Alan Rogers states, "It would seem that this kind of work (LGM) is not more widely practiced because many literacy agencies do not believe that the local groups are capable of doing these things" (1994, p. 26).

When one considers that the participatory movement in adult literacy itself is less than 30 years old, it should not be surprising that the research guided by this new paradigm is not extensive. Research in less developed countries on adult participation in literacy programs or, more specifically, in materials development and LGM methods, are extremely limited. This literature review will present key theorists and practitioners involved in LGM in order to better understand the origin, nature and purpose of such activities. This will be followed by two sections, one which describes selected global efforts at LGM and the second reviewing selected efforts from the South Asian region. By reviewing the rational for LGM methods in the context of practice, the theories informing these practices are grounded, thereby providing a more complete picture.

B. Rationale for LGM

In reviewing existing literature and examples of LGM in practice, there are three main rationale provided in support of LGM. These are summarized as: process; product; and participatory action.

Process LGM stresses the use of the method for learning and literacy acquisition; Product LGM focusses on the development of texts; while Participatory Action LGM highlights the role of method in leading to community development and social change.

1. Process LGM

The rationale for Process LGM is supported by Ashton-Warner (1963), Stauffer (1974), Rogers (1994), Mace (1992) and others who stress the knowledge and practice gained by participants in LGM activities. Such processes are supported and influenced by experiential and student-centered learning made popular in the field of adult and non-formal education (LaBelle, 1987; Bock & Papagiannis, 1983; Knowles, 1975; Freire, 1972; Dewey, 1966). Theorists today continue to support learner-centered instruction for adults, where learner experiences are valued, where the lessons are relevant, and where the learners are actively involved in learning (Coombs, 1985; Ouane, 1989). In a recent UNESCO publication (1990), four essential principles in the learning process were given: active participation by learners; instruction based on the learners own experience;

learning how to learn; and learning by doing. Arnove and Graff, describing trends in adult literacy programs, claim:

> Current literacy programs . . . increasingly stress (1) an inductive approach which starts with adults' own ideas and insights; (2) experiential learning, which derives from and relates to the prospects of applying newly acquired knowledge and skills; and (3) a variety of techniques and a flexible approach in which is realized that there is no "magical solution to the problem. (1987, p. 20)

Process LGM theories follow learner centered and inductive approaches and stress the importance of using the learners' own ideas and words in acquiring basic literacy. By starting with the learner, the Language Experience Approach (LEA) and other similar LGM activities strive to make literacy instruction more personalized and relevant, and thereby more engaging and easier to learn (Arnove & Graff, 1987; Stauffer, 1970; Root, 1987). Participants in Process LGM methods are able to write and read meaningfully as an integral part of their learning process, starting with the first lesson. This in turn helps learners to transfer literacy instruction from the classroom into the context of their own lives, resulting in retention. This is similar the concept of "efficiency" as used by Jurmo or in Rogers' term, the "real" use of literacy in the classroom to improve instruction (Auerbach, 1994; Jurmo, 1987; 1989; Rogers, 1994). In his work on LEA, Stuffer states:

> Every individually dictated story represents a personalized record of word usage. In the eyes of the pupil, the words in his story are "My words in writing." Possession is sometimes spoken of as

> nine-tenths of the law; similarly, in word learning, it represents nine-tenths of retention. (1970, p. 64)

Process LGM is also supported by research into the affective element (Krashen, 1982; Stevick, 1976). In adult basic education programs in the United States and Britain, most learners have had experiences of failing in the formal school system. Educators have reported that the confidence and self-esteem of learners in these programs is low, which has a negative effect on their learning and retention (Fox, 1986; Harman, 1987; Kozol, 1985). While there is some danger in projecting a state of low confidence onto all adult illiterates, researchers have found that authors of LGM feel motivated to learn more and feel empowered as knowers as a result of the process of developing LGM (Gillespie, 1990; 1991; Martin, 1989). Such feelings of confidence accompany the 'de-mystification' of reading and writing. In most primers, acts of reading and writing and the concepts they convey are often foreign from the learners in style and meaning. LGM demystifies the reading/writing process by allowing learners to fully engage in literacy use (Ashton-Warner, 1963; Atwell, 1987; Gillespie, 1991; Graves, 1983; Murray, 1982). From a survey conducted in England by Carney and Jones, Gillespie reports:

> When asked the single most important benefit of literacy instruction, over half of their sample cited affective reasons - feeling better about themselves, having more control over their lives - as the primary benefit. (1991, p. 16)

In this respect, the LGM process is seen to provide learners, especially adults, with both confidence and motivation. Becoming literate and gaining mastery of reading and writing skills requires time and dedication. LGM offers learners tangible evidence of their emerging literacy, with big books, personal flash cards and wall writings giving testimony to their skills and competence (Atwell, 1987; Auerbach, 1992; Stauffer, 1970; Stevick, 1976). Gillespie carried out research in the United States on adult new literates and the impact of LGM methods on their lives. As an ethnographic study, Gillespie found six main aspects of change in the lives of the new literates as identified in interviews. These have been summarized as:

i) I believe I can learn;

ii) I can open myself up;

iii) my voice matters;

iv) I have learnt that writing is just an idea you express;

v) I see myself as a teacher, I have something to give; and

vi) Changing practice and plans (Gillespie, 1991).

In addition to the affective aspects, Process LGM is supported by the "writing process" movement, in which instruction is modelled after the way people write and how children learn naturally. Goodman, Murray, Smith, and others based their early work on the observation of pre-primary and primary school age children as they acquired

literacy. These researchers advocate the importance of learning by doing, of meaning over form, of student centered activities and of having fun with print (Atwell, 1987; Elbow, 1981; Goodman, 1970; Graves, 1983; Murray, 1985; Smith, 1985). The writing process methods are often placed in the larger, whole language movement of reading and writing instruction. Besides extrapolating from research on children, adult writing process analyses the steps that 'good' writers follow when they write.

Donald Murray, one of the pioneers of research into the writing process, divides the writing process into five activities: collecting; focusing; ordering; drafting; and revising (Murray, 1982, 1985). Peter Elbow in his work with proficient adult writers, distinguishes three steps: pre-writing; writing; and revision (Elbow, 1973, 1981). Gillespie outlined five steps in her work with adult basic literacy programs: rehearsal; drafting; revision; editing; and publishing or 'making public' (Gillespie, 1990). All these processes follow the same flow: from organizing ideas; to scratching them down on paper; to looking them over again; to rewriting to make them better. In this respect, initial drafts are valued as key steps in the process of writing, whose misspellings, grammar and form are of secondary importance to the meaning and flow of ideas (Atwell, 1990; Murray, 1982, 1985; Smith, 1983; 1985).

To make the instructional process mirror how people write naturally, learners are encouraged to spend time preparing ideas and outlines before actually writing initial drafts (Elbow, 1973; Gillespie, 1990). For both Elbow and Gillespie, getting the ideas first down on paper, in the drafting stage, is a major hurdle for many writers. Adult basic literacy learners often let handwriting and spelling fears get in the way of writing their ideas. It is important in the drafting stage that learners feel free to express their thoughts on paper regardless of their proficiency. This can happen once students realize that, when the rough ideas are written down, there are revisions upon revisions that can be made, a process followed by all writers, not just beginners (Elbow, 1973, 1981; Gillespie, 1991). The fourth step, editing, takes place after writers are sure of the content and are ready to focus on form, including punctuation, style and spelling. As Donald Murray argues:

> The process of writing can be studied and understood, We can re-create what a student or professional writer does to produce effective writing. The process is not linear, but recursive. . . We learn best - when we are not told in the abstract what to do and then commanded to do it, but are encouraged to write and then have the opportunity to examine what we have done with an experienced writer. . . This method of instruction allows the student to learn how to read each draft so that future drafts - on this and other subjects - may be improved. (1985, p. 4)

In the classroom, teachers use conferences with students, student-to-student sharing, group feedback sessions, and reading aloud activities to support revising and editing (Elbow, 1981; Gilles, et al., 1988; Graves, 1983; Kazemak, 1984; Smith, 1982). Teachers using the writing process also often make use of writing folders, whereby each student keeps all his/her drafts, revisions and final versions of their works together in their own folder, or portfolio. These folders not only give learners a chance to see their own progress, but are used for evaluation and for meetings and conferences with the teacher (Atwell, 1987; Gillespie, 1990; Graves & Stuart, 1985; Kazemak, 1985). Through reflection and sharing, learners work alone and together to shape and improve their writing. Adult basic education programs which use the writing process and then publish collections of student writings are extremely numerous today, with many different types of materials developed, with diverse content, audience and purpose (ALBSU, 1983; Gillespie, 1990, 1991; Martin, 1989; Rogers, 1994).

When following the traditional phonics-based curricula, learners are rarely engaged in real or meaningful acts of writing and reading. Essays, if ever written, may be written at one go, with the first and final draft one and the same. In adult literacy courses, writing has been traditionally restricted to copying sentences and filling in blanks, while reading often consists of 'barking

at print' (Macedo, 1993). As a result, there is little transfer of education from school or classroom to daily life. Approaches and curricula which use the writing process, LEA and other meaningful whole language activities often use LGM as a natural extension to these methods (Colvin & Root, 1982; Giroux, 1988; Stauffer, 1970).

2. Product LGM

In most less developed countries, there is an extreme shortage of materials available for new literates or individuals with limited reading skills. The process of developing materials is often complex, involving teams and committees of researchers, writers, artists, typists and field workers who carry out the needs assessment, writing, layout, field testing, revision, final production and distribution of materials (ACCU, 1984; Bhola, 1984; Sasaoka, 1990; UNESCO, 1981). Together, bureaucratic procedures and technical requirements retard the process and increase the costs of publishing materials for neo-literates. As Bhola observed:

> The fact is that in most countries we do not have the books or other reading materials that our potential readers would probably want to read. . . . Many Third World adult literacy programs have been unable to pay any attention to post literacy stages for sheer lack of resources. They have not been able to produce much by the way of follow-up literature for new literates. (1980, p. 28)

The rationale in support of LGM products is used in support of those activities in which the development of exchangeable, relevant and cost effective materials are

program objectives. In reality, there are insufficient numbers of materials for neo-literates to read. This is a fact which leads many mass literacy programs in less developed countries, bereft of either structured post-literacy or natural follow-up reading materials, to eventually fail (Arnove & Graff, 1987; Bhola, 1980; Carron & Bordia, 1985; Rogers, 1994). It is hard to develop reading habits or generate interest in books if community people have little access to print materials and if the materials which are available are either technical manuals, moralistic stories or government rules and regulations written by experts from the capital. LGM texts have been proven to offer a practical solution to this problem (ALBSU, 1977; Bhola, 1980; Cain & Comings, 1977; Martin, 1989; Morley, 1982).

LGM methods can provide a low cost and efficient approach to materials production and dissemination. There is no need for large teams of experts or for centralized handling of the production process. Local people themselves can directly participate in the process and develop materials that they themselves can use. By using simple technologies in remote or impoverished areas, such as litho machines or silk screens, relevant, interesting and accessible materials can be easily produced for readers. There are dangers, however, when low cost technologies are introduced which the learners and communities are unable to control or sustain. In the case of Kenya, where silk

screens were introduced for community publications, the villages were unable to sustain the enterprise, especially in terms of technology and material supplies (Rogers, 1994; Zeitlyn, 1988). In their research on LGM products, Cain and Comings found:

> Perhaps the best rationale for learner prepared materials is the pragmatic issue of an adequate reading supply. Literacy programs around the world have always had the problem of providing sufficient materials to help neo-literates move past the primer stage to a developed reading skill. New readers can produce their own reading material and share it with other new readers in the area. (1977, p. 5)

In relation to this, materials developed by neo-literates or target group members, are written in a style, perspective and metaphor familiar to the readers and target groups. In utilizing local adult learners as authors, the texts become more accessible, the values more meaningful, and the context more relevant (Heath, 1983; Ryan, 1985; Street, 1984). On one level, the grammar, vocabulary, syntax and expressions used by members of local communities are often quite different from those used by university educated writers. There are countless examples of literacy primers, informational flyers and instructional materials written by 'experts' that use vocabulary, illustrations, expressions and even languages unintelligible to the learners for whom they were intended.

In countries with multi-lingual populations, there are scant print materials available in the minority languages. For example, in Ethiopia prior to 1979, only the national

language was used in literacy instruction throughout the country, even though some 80-100 other languages existed. With the shift in government, a new educational policy was initiated. The new literacy campaign was be carried out in 15 languages which were understood by over 90% of the population. This shift in policy required the preparation of new instructional materials and follow-up reading materials which was, unfortunately, beyond the capacity of experts in the Ministry of Education (Ryan, 1985). In this instance, learner (target group) participation in the materials development process could have led to far different results.[1]

Newspapers and newsletters are one of the most popular and common forms of LGM resulting from adult basic education programs. In some cases, as in Jamaica and different states of India, regular daily newspapers include new literate page or section, often with contributions from new literates (Rogers, 1994; UNESCO, 1985, 1986c). Other cases exist of much more learner participation, in which classes publish newsletters as part of their class (Gillespie, 1989; Martin, 1989; Meyers, 1991). Other newsletters, such as those in the Chirahoor project in India, are LGM productions supported by new gathering devices operated by groups of adult basic education graduates and sanitation program participants. In Indonesia and the Philippines, wall newspapers became community projects, with some new items printed by the main office

while others were added by the communities and new literates themselves (Dilts & Mansour, 1989; Rogers, 1994; UNESCO, 1986c). This popular participation of adult new literates in materials development has social and political outcomes as well. As Freire and Macedo point out:

> If the masses were rarely stimulated before to write their texts, now writing is fundamental from the very beginning of literacy, so that, in the post-literacy period, what can come to be a small popular library can begin with the inclusion of pages written by those who are themselves becoming educated. (1987, p. 43)

In the context of less developed countries, the rationale in support of LGM products have been supported by 'horizontal communication' and the power of popular texts. Product LGM can be used to promote groups of adult learners to communicate with each other, sharing successes, challenges and ideas without a central filter or support from 'experts on high'. By writing short descriptions, taking pictures, recording cassette tapes or developing theater, participants and villagers can learn from their own experiences and communicate these lessons directly with other groups (Barndt, 1991; Hall, 1993; Kidd, 1983; Martin, 1989). Rather than foster dependency on the 'center', LGM activities promote direct links and exchange between groups for their mutual benefit, an act which motivates as much as it informs. In this respect, the rationale for Process LGM can be directly linked, as an empowering process, to community development and social change. This aspect of both process and product rationale, regarding

meaningfulness and impact, is addressed more fully below (Auerbach, 1994; Flora, 1985; Freire & Macedo, 1987).

3. Participatory Action LGM

As a political act, the production of knowledge by learners is charged with issues of control and empowerment, if not also structural change. In one respect, the process of producing LGM can reverse the roles of teachers and learners, whereby learners are treated as knowers whose ideas and words are the source of knowledge. Freire and others see this change in the teacher-learner dynamic, a reversal of 'banking education', as a key step towards changing hierarchical relations in society as a whole (Apple, 1990; Brown, 1970; Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1983; Werner, 1982). Similarly, in making public the LGM products, adult illiterates, often from marginalized and voiceless groups, are validated as knowers and experts in their own right. In creating and sharing published knowledge, this validation changes the way members of society view each other and themselves (Fals-Borda, 1984b; Freire, 1985; Freire & Macedo, 1987). This shift represents a counter hegemonic force against the positivistic, expert-driven tradition, whose debilitating grip on society is described by Fanon:

> . . . if care is taken to use only a language that is understood by graduates in law and economics, you can easily prove that the masses have to be managed from above. But if you speak the language of everyday . . . then you will realize that the masses are quick to seize every

> shadow of meaning and to learn all the tricks of the trade. . . The business of obscuring language is a mask behind which stands out the much greater business of plunder. The people's property and the people's sovereignty are to be stripped from them at one and the same time. (1963, p. 188)

On deeper structural levels, Antonio Gramsci described how the forces of oppression and domination were often internalized by the oppressed and dominated classes. This reification, or 'consent' greatly controlled resistance to the 'natural order' of things and gave prescribed forms to the resistance which did evolve. Debates were structured within academic systems, between fields and sub-fields, by experts and long-studied specialists who formed faculties, departments and academic industries. Illiterate people did not join in the debate, and theories and critiques using non-instrumental forms of knowledge were given neither space nor voice. Publishing texts by, and with, neo-literate adults sheds light on the myth of expertise and the production of formalized textual knowledge (Apple, 1990; Forrester, 1985; Giroux, 1988; Gramsci, 1971; Hall, 1993).

> . . . (the process) exemplifies a basic respect for the capabilities of the members of oppressed groups . . . this attitude toward exploited groups changes the manner in which knowledge is produced, controlled and used. It is no longer the sole province of academic or research institutions nor of the other giant institutions that usually control knowledge in societies. (Horton, 1981, p. 3)

The act of publishing local materials sends a clear message that what the local people know is valuable and

worth sharing with others. Publishing the works of women villagers, their stories, poems or songs, expands the domain of knowledge, shifting the locus away from instrumental knowledge for control, to both interactive and critical knowledge. In the past 500 years, as instrumental ways of knowing have superseded all others, especially in the social sciences, that inequity, disharmony and oppression have become structural features of modern societies. From this critical perspective, participatory action LGM activities have been developed to expand the domains of interactive and critical knowledge as a counter-hegemonic tool (Auerbach, 1992; Habermas, 1984, 1992; Held, 1980; Seidman, 1989).

Briefly described, the function of interactive knowledge is the sincere and truthful communication of intentions and ideas, or as Belenky and others put it, 'integrated knowing' (Belenky, et al., 1982). In this respect, the shared beliefs and ideas of groups, and the implicit rules, norms and world views which govern culture are all raised, examined and shared as an integral knowledge form. Interactive knowledge examines self-concepts and community to more fully understand the basis of human communication and understanding. This knowledge is not based on subject-object dichotomies, but on subject-subject relationships, where research capacities are open to all persons and are no longer the domain of elite specialists and intellectuals. Such forms of knowledge, and

the texts and writing which support them, have been traditionally de-valued by academics and society at large. Publishing and exchanging such writing is to challenge the limits of instrumental knowledge (Belenky, et al., 1982; Gayfer, 1980; Lewis & Simon, 1986; Wuthnow, 1984).

Critical knowledge refers to reflection on action, a process which focusses on what is right and just, especially in terms which determine future action. Critical knowledge addresses issues of equity and social justice. Unlike instrumental knowledge systems, critical knowledge is accessible to all people and is the basis for collective analysis leading to action (Fals-Borda, 1984b; Hall, 1993; Lynd, 1991; Park, 1993). Instrumental knowledge considers judgement and ethics to be beneath the hard sciences, and leaves such queries to poets and lawyers. While critical knowledge is necessary for emancipatory purposes and for differentiating common good from common sense, all ways of knowing (instrumental, interactive or critical) have their purpose and role in the successful functioning of society.

LGM initiatives have produced texts reflecting critical analysis of society, and have used the process of LGM to initiate actions far greater than the LGM process or products themselves. In this respect, LGM has been conceived as a practical application of critical theory, which redistributes who is seen as 'knowers', what is considered 'knowledge.' LGM methods transform who can be considered to be producers of knowledge, thereby opening

society for structural change and transformation (Belenky, 1982; Boggs, 1984; Fay, 1975; Habermas, 1973; Park, 1993). As Barndt writes in her photo-novella:

> We are not supporting the telling of personal stories only for self expression or therapy; we are supporting the sharing of daily experiences, which can lead to a clearer understanding of social structures, a critical analysis and a readiness to act collectively. (1982, p. 4)

The strong link between critical theory and participatory LGM is provided by theorists and practitioners of action research (AR) and participatory action research (PAR). For both AR and PAR, the materials may range from problem trees to mass mailings, from 'letters to the editor' to posters for a protest, from informational brochures to household surveys and community maps. In analysing Participatory Action LGM, however, it is important to remember that both processes and products are involved, and in the AR and PAR cycles, the materials themselves may very well be of secondary importance, made public only in the group itself, or used as a tool for reaching a deeper spiral in the action research cycle (Barndt, 1982, 1991; Fals-Borda, 1984; Meyers, 1991).

C. Review of Selected Global LGM Efforts

As stated earlier, LGM is not a school of theorists and practitioners, but is a term which is applied to particular types of practice whose goals, objectives and approaches are varied. LGM is by no means a new phenomenon, though recent activities and shifts towards participatory

literacy approaches have brought increased attention to LGM methods over the past decade. The following is a selection of specific LGM initiatives, taken from different parts of the world, which help provide clearer insight into the rationale behind and the potentials for LGM activities.

1. First Words

First Words refers to an approach developed in New Zealand over 30 years ago by Sylvia Ashton-Warner, and documented in her book Teacher. Ms. Ashton-Warner worked with primary school children, predominately Maoris, in Class 1 and 2. In those days in New Zealand, Maori children performed extremely poorly in school, and had significantly lower levels of social development and education than did Caucasians on the islands. In her classes, Ms. Ashton-Warner did not use the standard primers and textbooks, but allowed her students to create their own "organic dictionaries." These personal texts were made up of the children's own meaningful "first words". These words, dictated by the children themselves, were written down on large cards. Each day, the children would work with these words, reviewing the old ones, adding the new and discarding those that were no longer meaningful (Ashton-Warner, 1963; 1972).

These informal books, kept and nurtured by each child, became the basis of other activities, exercises, and games which strengthened the child's literacy abilities. Those

words which were forgotten quickly were dropped from the "organic dictionary." as they were not meaningful enough to be remembered. Otherwise, these "Key Words" of the children became the basis of lessons, examinations and further publications. Phonics activities and other games and exercises were also structured, but were always based on the first words chosen by the learners (Ashton-Warner, 1963; Gunter, 1972). As Ashton Warner writes:

> Back to these first words. . . They must be organically tied up, organically born . . . made out of the stuff of the child itself. . . whether it is good or bad stuff, violent or placid stuff, colored or dun. . .And in this dynamic material, within the familiarity and security of it, the Maori finds that words have intense meaning to him, from which cannot help but arise a love of reading. (1963, p. 34)

On the walls and the boards of her classrooms would hang posters, word cards and big books, all developed with the children and all rich in meaning and context. Books, developed by the children with help from their teacher and aid, were read aloud, exchanged, used for future lessons and taken home. Children determined their own key words, which were shared with them on note cards. The children could copy these words into their own notebooks, and would later write them on the blackboard to share with other children. According to Ashton-Warner, this helps build the love and affinity for reading and writing in the children which is the key to its future mastery and continued use. It should be stressed that while the First Word approach is learner centered, the teacher must take the lead providing

structure and reinforcement to the practice exercises that complement the organic dictionary.

> Not only do you enter the words they ask for at the back of their books, but, bearing in mind the reading of them afterwards, you watch the spacing of words for better legibility, carefully oversee the grammar, and, above all, nurture the continuity of their thought. (1963, p. 55)

With the success of her methods with her students, the recognition and replication by educational authorities in New Zealand and the strong sales of her books internationally, Ashton-Warner's approach to teaching and learning has been adapted and followed by many programs. In Ecuador, Jock Gunter reported on the implementation of the Ashton-Warner Literacy Method in adult literacy programs in rural areas. There, the method was adapted into a six step process which was taught to the facilitators of the adult classes. Gunter summarizes the process of implementing First Word approaches in Ecuador with the following six steps:

1. Establish rapport with the learners.
2. Ask learners for words they want to know. Discuss the word.
3. Write the words on cards and give to their new "owners."
4. Have learners write the words in their notebooks.
5. Have learners write words on the board and discuss with class.
6. After learning basic vocabulary, help learner write sentences and stories to share with class. (1972, p. 8)

2. Latin America and Photo-novellas

The Latin American experience with literacy campaigns and basic education is politically rich and socially

active. Dependency theories, developed by Frank and others, were applied to basic education as well (Bowles, 1984; Frank, 1969; LaBelle, 1986; Rama, 1985). Adult literacy students, like the recipients of donor aid, were usually from marginalized groups who were treated as passive recipients of knowledge and information controlled by the elites. In this respect, the production of print materials mirrors the direction of communication within society, flowing from the center to the periphery. In speaking of photo-novellas in Latin America, Flora notes:

> Production is separated along four dimensions: social class (produced by upper class for the working class), gender (produced by men for women), continent (by North for South) and race (by whites for blacks, mestizos, indians). (Flora, 1985, p. 18)

National educational systems reflected and maintained existing hierarchies and inequalities in society (Apple, 1990; Bowles, 1984; Gintis, 1973; Illich, 1979). Primers, curricula and examinations were seen as carefully crafted and ideologically charged primers were used to domesticate and oppress. In her analysis of photo-novellas in Latin America, Colmina found that "readers of fotonovelas are the new illiterates who mechanically internalize the ideology which oppresses them and thus reproduce the social structure which enriches their oppressors" (quoted in Flora, 1984). As a result of analysis, increasing attention was placed on the participation of marginalized groups in the production of print materials.

The most common form of materials produced by adult learners in Latin America were photo-novellas. Photo novellas are similar to comic strips, except that illustrations are replaced by photos. The white balloons which contain dialogue are included in photo-novellas. As a literary genre, they are found in every Latin American country, with a wide range of titles and steady salability (Cain & Comings, 1977; Parlatto, Parlatto & Cain, 1980; Weaks, 1976). Photo-novellas can be easily developed by new literates and adult literacy learners as an outcome of their instruction and there are many examples of this (Barndt, 1982; Cain & Comings, 1977; Comings, Frantz, & Cain, 1981). From Ecuador, Barriga and Villacis documented the LGM photo novella production process which was the outcome of a non-formal education program funded by USAID (Barriga & Villacis, 1988).

Similarly, LGM photo-novellas have been introduced in the Peace Corps Literacy Handbook, which encourages learner participation in the materials development process (Comings & Kahler, 1984). In North America, LGM photo-novellas have been used for a variety of purposes, not only instructional, but as tools for community research leading to social change In this respect, the LGM products were of two uses; as a means of producing popular literature, and as a tool for promoting community development (Cain & Comings, 1977; Martin, 1989; Rudd & Comings, 1994).

While these examples place emphasis on the LGM products, in Brazil the early 1970s, Paolo Freire focussed on the process. His work, Pedagogy of the Oppressed eloquently laid clear his vision of the transformative power of education and greatly influenced learner participation in adult education. By starting with the learners, Freire reversed tradition modes of "banking education" in which teachers transmit information to learners. Freire's referred to "naming the world and the word" as a process in which critical discussion and analysis of one's own situation and environment could be summed in "generative theme," and "key words." The meaning, context and ownership of this word and thereby the world it represents, lies with the learners. While these early theories were put into practice by Freire and his university colleagues in 1970 using tightly controlled, phonics based exercises, the theories have also been used to support more participatory methods and learning (Brown, 1970; Freire, 1970, 1972, 1985; Freire & Macedo, 1987).

Another root of LGM initiatives in Latin America at this time were initiated through popular education movements of Orlando Fals-Borda. Work by Fals-Borda featured the Action Research Cycle, whereby theory and action were wed through a process of collective inquiry, analysis, planning, action and reflection. Like Freire, Fals-Borda stressed the political nature of education, but focussed his research more on the organization of

participation and applications for social transformation. The action-research cycle as a learning process has been applied to adult literacy programs in both South and North America. As Fals Borda points out:

> Four major techniques have resulted from the practice of PAR (participatory action-research) during the past decade . . 1. Collective research. . . 2. Critical revery of history. . . 3. Valuing and using popular culture. . . 4. Production and diffusion of new knowledge. (1984a, p. 2)

LGM methods and participant involvement in learning through materials development has been practiced under each of the broad techniques (Carter, 1955; Fals Borda, 1984a, 1984b; Hall, 1993; Kidd & Byram, 1983; Lynd, 1991). This link between LGM, the production of knowledge and social change is highlighted by Fals Borda in the following quote:

> Understanding and assisting peoples participation is a problem of global dimensions that includes development efforts and the roles and meaning of scientific knowledge. . . that is, study and action combined that responds to the needs of the underprivileged masses in contemporary social structures, by taking into account their aspirations and needs, as well as their capacities for knowing and acting. . . Popular knowledge remains outside the formal scientific structure built by the dominant intellectual minorities of the West (and East) because it means a breach of its rules. Hence, the subversive potential which this knowledge has. Radical action research can grasp this potential and put it in a more effective way in the service of the people that have it, for their own interests. (1984b, p. 65)

The action-research cycle as introduced by Fals Borda involves a collective process of reflection, analysis, planning and action which is viewed as spiral (Fals Borda, 1984a; Freire, 1972; Lindsay, 1976; Park, 1993). Deborah

Barndt has been involved in a number of community development and popular education activities which have documented the collective development of print materials as influenced by action-research. In the 1970s and 80's in Latin America, Barndt wrote of street dramas by landless farmers (*campesinos*) which told the history of how they had lost their land. Similarly, discussion groups later decided to develop 8mm movies on their situation and needs, which they wanted to show to others. The group developed and wrote the script from which they produced their movie, which was shown in the town square and in concerned government offices. Other groups decided to develop and print small flyers and posters, which were on a wide range of issues, and which were distributed in hopes of bringing about social awareness and change (Barndt, n.d.). In this early work of Barndt and others, attention was placed on the use of learning as a means of developing LGM of various media as tools for social change (Cain & Comings, 1977; Hall, 1993; Kidd, 1983; Kidd & Byram, 1978; Park, 1992).

In Canada, Barndt continued to work in adult basic education programs. In her 1982 book, Getting There, Barndt describes the rationale behind producing photo-stories, which she follows with descriptions of three techniques: collecting and editing oral history; photo-sequencing; and socio-drama. This is followed by an example of a photo-story which was produced by a group of Portuguese women, called Aurora's Story, which tell's of Aurora's first job

interview. In 1991, Barndt collaborated on a workplace education resource kit, which described the structure of each unit as follows:

> Within each unit, there are three section, each corresponding to a step in the learning process. . . .The three steps reflect the concept of education as a process that begins with the experiences of the learners, helps them to understand their own reality more deeply as they develop language skills, and prepares them to act together to improve their situation. (p. 6)

Throughout the text, teachers are encouraged to let students take photos, write stories, develop safety manuals and develop and produce various media for learning. In this later work, more emphasis has been placed on the use of LGM methods as a means of learning through the real use of reading, writing and oral language skills (Barndt, 1991).

As the use of LGM for social activism and change expanded, participants were made up of a wider spectrum of stakeholders, many of whom were not specifically part of literacy classes or organized learning groups. These broader based people's publications have been termed Locally Generated Materials (LoGM) by Rogers (1994) and others. Many examples of participatory action LoGM are found with Miles Horton, who worked over five decades for social reform in the USA. Horton, who collaborated with both Fals-Borda and Freire, often used LoGM as tools for social change, advocacy, and community awareness. To reverse inequitable land taxation and use in the Appalachians, for example, "lay citizens" and "lay researchers" were mobilized and coordinated. Poor, rural

community members participated in a land surveys and land ownership publications were developed of great depth and detail. These texts and assembled records were sent to local, state and national government bodies who then changed the inequitable land tax system and laws relating to ownership and use. Other examples of LoGM for the purposes of reclaiming history, depicting injustice, creating social awareness and bringing about social change have included oral histories, wall newspapers, posters, murals, street dramas, community maps, 8mm films, video and more (Comings & Cain, 1981; FAO, 1987; Horton, 1981; The Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force, 1983).

3. Literacy Volunteers - Language Experience Approach

The Literacy Volunteers of America (LVA) is the largest network of adult literacy providers in the United States. Founded in 1962, LVA provides materials and services to assist its network volunteer tutorial programs in 275 programs in 35 states. In addition, LVA supports adult basic education programs, correctional facilities and other literacy programs with materials, technical support and tutor training (Colvin & Root, 1987). LVA relies upon one-to-one tutorials with the Language Experience Approach (LEA) as the key method of instruction. In this approach, tutors take dictations from the learner, whose words are used for follow up reading and writing practice (Colvin and Root, 1987; Stauffer, 1970). In the LVA Tutor's Guide, the

process of LEA is described as consisting of the following five steps:

A. Identify an experience by conversation

B. Record the learner's words exactly as spoken

C. Read the story.

D. Select and utilize target words for instruction.

E. Review and adapt in a variety of ways (1987, p. 25)

What is written and then used for practice are the learners own words. In this way, LEA helps to demystify print and the writing process. To overcome affective barriers existing in many adult illiterates in the USA, the objective from the start is to show learners that reading is simply 'talk written down' (Stauffer, 1970). Learners quickly become familiar with their own texts, with the recognition of their own words and with copying and writing their words afresh. Learners are able to take a more active hand in their shaping literacy to their own use and needs and in turn, this relevance increases the ease with which literacy is acquired.

Adult learners often do not see any tangible results for the hours of time they invest in studying to read and write. Traditional adult literacy programs, with pre-set curriculum and textbooks, often require years of instruction before basic literacy competencies can be mastered. Even dedicated adult learners must struggle with materials and texts written by experts from a context they

do not share. This is a de-motivating factor which can produce feelings of frustration and despair. In his work with LEA, Stauffer found how stimulated and motivated learners were when the text studied was their own words:

> When the disadvantaged person is given an opportunity to be a producer, to use his own interests, to choose his own vocabulary, to articulate his own experiences, he is quick to notice the degree to which his wealth has been recognized and honored. By tapping his experience-language wealth, his thinking is fostered and this, in turn, becomes stimulating to him. (Stauffer, 1970, p. 255)

The sense of privacy and shame regarding adult illiteracy in America, however, has led LVA to not make the learners' early written works public. These texts are shared between the tutor and learner, and the learner with family if desired. While this has reduced the public utility of these texts, especially in beginning learners, LVA reports that learners soon lose inhibition over their writing, taking pride in their accomplishments. LEA methods and activities can be done with individual and group sessions. There are many ways to elicit stories and text through collective writing activities. In his video "From Real Life: Using Student Experiences in Reading and Writing" Dan Rabideau demonstrates group discussions, role plays, brainstorms and games to generate group text with follow up practice exercises (Barndt, 1993; Meyers, 1989; Rabideau, 1989).

4. British Movement and Writers Workshops

In the 1970s, faced with adult literacy students with nothing of relevance or interest to read, a number of adult basic education programs in England started to develop their own reading and instructional materials. In these initially scattered and independent initiatives, teachers and learners worked together to develop these texts and materials. Keith Morley, who was involved in the early LGM activities in England, described their motivation as follows:

> There was a dead weight of material devised for secondary remedial work which was soon discarded by most people as transparently irrelevant; but whether working from the limited notion of relevance, or from broader idea that value lies in the greatest possible participation in the creation of the learning material, the only thing was for students and tutors to do it themselves. (1982, p. 126)

In the late 1970s, as the network of adult basic education programs continued to grow in support of each other, more coordinated efforts at program produced materials were started. The Write First Time group started as a group of committed learners and teachers who met to discuss the question "Can We Produce a Teaching Newsletter for Literacy Work?" As the group continued to meet, to develop strategies and later to form into a collective, learner involvement with full participation in the process was viewed as a key element. In approaching the government for funding, the Write First Time collective identified learners as an integral part of the materials development

and production process as well as key decision makers in various aspects of the production and administrative process (Gillespie, 1990; Mace, 1995; UNESCO, 1986a). As Gillespie reports of Write First Time: "At that time, it was decided that each issue would be made in a different place *(ABE program)* so new groups could learn how to read, select, typeset and illustrate the paper . . ." (1991, p. 45, italicized words mine).

With the acceptance of LGM as a viable teaching/ learning tool, a need was created for distribution and dissemination systems: publishing houses and departments dedicated specifically for LGM. This has led to establishing LGM clearinghouses, such as 'Centreprise,' which is run and managed as a cooperative as part of a adult basic education program in London. Centreprise was handling the production, printing, sales and distribution of some 80 LGM titles produced by participants from over 20 adult basic education programs in 1990. ALBSU, another clearinghouse, also published a wide selection of LGM, as well resource materials written by basic education teachers, community developers and classes of adult researchers. By having a direct link to printing capacities and distribution centres, where books were bought and sold, LGM activities in Great Britain have had a long, sustained life with impact over time (ALBSU, 1977, 1983; Gillespie, 1991; Mace, 1992; UNESCO, 1986a).

The Write First Time project developed a system to develop numerous LGM throughout England and ran workshops with adult learners on editing and layout so that programs could publish their own materials locally (UNESCO, 1985a). Writing workshops, often organized on weekends, brought new writers together to celebrate writing and to publish their works. This use of the term 'writers workshops' is in distinction to the term as it employed by Bhola, ACCU and other traditionalists, in which content area experts, professional writers and NFE staff develop materials especially geared for the low reading abilities of neo-literates (ACCU, 1990; Bhola, 1980; Sasaoka, 1990; UNESCO PRPAP, 1988). In England, writers' workshops have become an increasingly popular activity with adult basic education participants, so that ALBSU has published seven LGM texts on how to plan and lead writer workshops with neo-literate adults (ALBSU, 1983). Most writing workshops use the writing process, with brainstorming, sharing and feedback sessions, and the editing of final versions carried out by participants and facilitators together. ALBSU's guide to writing workshops included focus groups; community interviews; free writing; drama; and other individual and group activities, to develop stories, plays, newspaper articles and histories (ALBSU, 1983).

While these examples from England lay emphasis on the process of producing LGM texts, there is awareness of the implications for social change. Extensive learner

participation in the area of materials production is regarded as a tool for and manifestation of social change in that adult new literates are treated as experts who are capable of writing powerfully for other readers. By actively engaging adult new literates in all aspects of the development and production of texts as knowledge, the Write First Time project was actively challenging the entrenched academic system of experts, with their iron grip on the production and control of knowledge. One of the founders of Write First Time, Dr. Susan Shrapnel, observed:

> The more control the writer has over the work that leads up to printing, and over the sales of books - processes which all of us have had to learn by doing them - the less likely you are to endow printed matter with mystique and authority. To make a book also vitally changes your understanding of yourself: from taker to maker. (UNESCO, 1985a, p. 3)

It is interesting to note that in 1988, shortly after they had published a damning poem on the 'reign of Maggie Thatcher', funding to the Write First Time project from the government was stopped. By this time, however, a real movement had been built of LGM, with extensive publishing and distribution systems established which could not easily be dissembled. Adult basic education programs throughout the United Kingdom are strongly in favour of active learner involvement in all stages of the learning process, not only materials development, which has further supported the efforts in LGM (Gillespie, 1990; Mace, 1995).

D. Regional Efforts at LGM

Well documented cases of LGM are found mainly in North America, Latin America and Europe. To date, there has been relatively little published research or reviews of LGM in Asia. While there are a few examples of cases of LGM, these are usually ad hoc, unsustained, and undocumented. The following is a brief selection of LGM activities from three countries. It is by no means exhaustive, but meant only to provide examples of the LGM process as it has been adapted to the needs of literacy and development in the Asian context.

1. Thailand NFE Department

The Thailand NFE Department of the Ministry of Education is an extensive ministerial body with a history dating back to 1940. Under five Regional NFE Centres, there are NFE Centres in each of the 73 provinces of the country. These Provincial NFE Centers are decentralized and directly develop and implement NFE programs with local bodies, including NGOs, monasteries, and the formal school system. The successful innovations pioneered by the NFE Department, along with national commitment and political will, are some of the reasons why Thailand's literacy rose from 70% in 1960 to over 90% in 1980 (Thai NFE Dept., 1987). Starting in 1990, there have been several interesting examples of LGM initiated under the Thai NFE Department which are worth mentioning.

The North East Integrated Project (NEIP) in the North-East Regional NFE Centre, in Ubon introduced LGM to selected villages in all 17 Provincial Centres of the Region. The purpose of LGM was to support the overarching goal of village development, by encouraging self-reflection for action by villagers (action-research), as well to develop materials for exchange between villages. Villagers documented their own villages, their community development projects, their successes, their challenges, and their their experience with projects such as crop pest control, fish farming, and cooperatives for selling handicrafts. The majority of the LGM developed were video, which is a technology found in a few houses of most villages. In a few provincial centres (i.e., Mukdahan and Kalassin), villagers organized themselves to develop print materials. Village and family histories, descriptions of village projects and personal stories were developed and exchanged within the existing system of the village reading centres (Meyers, 1991; Thai MOE, 1991; Thai NFE Dept., 1991).

In June 1993, the Northern Regional NFE Center in Lamphong, using experience gained from NEIP, conducted a five day LGM workshop with NFE volunteer teachers. In Northern Thailand, many of the NFE teachers work in remote hill areas without readily available reading materials or an easy distribution system. The goal of the workshop was to get the NFE teachers to use writing as part of both the teaching-learning process and as a means of developing

simple texts for exchange. At the workshop, the volunteer teachers practiced using Language Experience Approach (LEA) activities, developing and using Big Books and experiencing feedback and sharing activities as they developed their own materials. During the workshop, participants also learned how to print their own publications using small litho machines.

After the workshop, 500 copies of the 130 page report-cum-volunteer teacher manual was produced in Thai. The manual includes 50 pages on the rationale behind LGM, which is categorized under reflection, exchange, social change (Meyers, 1991; Thai NNFERC, 1993). Other chapters in the manual were developed by the volunteer teachers during the five day workshop. The topics of these teacher developed LGM chapters include: How to use a litho machine; Hatching chickens; Pest control for crops; and Responsibilities for LGM implementation under the Regional Centre. In addition, over 20 pages of clip art, which can be used for tracing or photo-copying when illustrating new texts, are also provided in the manual (Thai NNFERC, 1993).

2. NGOs in Bangladesh

Bangladesh has a large and active NGO community which is in the forefront of nonformal education programs for both children and adults. Large scale NGO literacy programs are funded by foreign donors and the national government, which has accepted the efficacy of implementing adult

literacy through NGOs. In terms of materials development, many organizations develop their own basic and post-literacy materials. One local NGO, Friends In Village Development Bangladesh (FIVDB), has an extensive functional education and publishing programme. Based in Sylhet, FIVDB prints and distributes a wide range of titles in large volumes, servicing over 180 other organizations in Bangladesh with materials (Rogers, 1994).

One feature of FIVDB is the focus on cultural materials. While it does produce materials with specific development messages, the FIVDB newspaper, comics and stories are full of jokes and rich in local context, which purposively serve the role of entertainment and reading for pleasure. LGM in FIVDB started after one of their key staff attended the Literacy Summer Institute in Massachusetts in 1990. In 1991, adult literacy class graduates' letters and stories began to appear in the FIVDB newspaper and a learner generated column in the newspaper soon became a regular feature. In 1992, a writing competition was held, inviting stories centered around a series of illustrations of two goats who meet and fight on a bridge and then both fall into the river. Of the 270 responses, 80% of which were from adult learners in literacy classes, 34 stories were compiled and printed in a book for sale. In 1993, FIVDB coordinated a series of 4 national level writers workshops for new literates with a number of publications being developed and sold at a small cost (Rogers, 1994).

Dhaka Ahsania Mission is a large local NGO involved in community development activities in various regions of Bangladesh. With education as its main thrust, the Ahsania Mission is active in adult, adolescent and children's nonformal basic education. These initiatives are integrated into the community context and the needs and interests of beneficiaries. The Ahsania Mission has been expanding its continuing education through a system of community libraries cum village centers, which are becoming the hub of integrated community-based activities. It is through the community library system, or Ganakendra, that Ahsani Mission is planning to implement LGM. To date, the Mission newsletter, which is delivered to all Ganakendras, includes one page of learner/member contributions (Dhaka Ahsania Mission, 1995).

In discussing with E. Rehman, Education Coordinator for the Mission, several concerns were expressed about expanding LGM activities. The first regards sustainability, and the mechanism for cost recovery. This can only be attained by the use of simple local technologies for the production of the texts. If the central office gets involved, he feels that too much time will pass between writing and dissemination, with too many resources and funds required. To date, writers workshops have been conducted with staff on themes such as women's empowerment as a means of familiarizing them with the content area, as well as LGM methods and their potential. In addition,

writing exercises and whole language activities have been introduced in the facilitators training and into some of the basic classes. Before purchasing portable litho graphs for use at the Ganakendras, or larger litho and offset presses for zonal offices, training for staff and Ganakendra librarians on LGM production, as well as the development of local illustrators, are needed. With such considerations, Dhaka Ahsania Mission is planning further expansion of LGM activities to include more local production of texts in 1996 (Dhaka Ahsania Mission, 1995; Rahman, E., 1996).

The last example is GSS, a slightly smaller NGO that works in adult and children's non-formal literacy programs. GSS considers its aim to establish "sustainable literacy," by which the literacy acquired through instruction is relevant and useful in the lives of the learners. To this end, GSS approach to learning uses a whole language approach, with children's classes decorated with their writing and art. In both adult and children's classes, real writing activities are part of classroom instruction. For example, women practice reading and filling out health forms and applications for bank accounts. GSS also prints a newsletter, which is used in the classes, and in which learner writings are included. To date, however, GSS activities are limited to a few villages (Rogers, 1994).

3. India

With its long history of adult literacy and traditions of community-based participation, many examples of LGM from India exist. In this section we will look specifically look at the Participatory Materials Production Project in Banda District of Uttar Pradesh and Nirantar, based in Delhi. The project in Banda was the outcome of a water pump program which involved neo-literate women in a handpump maintenance and repair workshop. The village women participating in the workshop expressed a strong desire for more written information on a variety of topics. The Education For Women's Equality, which had initiated the literacy classes and the handpump training for the women, approached National Literacy Mission in Delhi to develop the Participatory Materials Production Project, which conducted a series of writers workshops to develop and produce community newspaper (Mishra, Ghose, & Bhog, 1993).

Using group discussions, analysis, and collective writing activities, the participants in the writers workshop identified themes for writing as well as the general layout of the newspaper. Over the course of the workshop, participants wrote and illustrated the articles and stories and pasted up the final version of the newsletter. On the first day of the first workshop, the women participating were reluctant to write and reported feeling overwhelmed at the prospects of developing a newsletter. These feelings were quickly overcome, however,

once they started analyzing newspaper formats and writing in groups. These fears were not an issue at all when the participants returned for the second writers workshop.

The articles and news contained in the newsletter, entitled Mahila Dakiya (Woman Postman) covered a variety of topics, but the major focus was on water and sanitation. As the women participating in the writers workshops came from many different villages, a wide net of news and information was collected and shared in the first issue. As a result, the publication of the newsletter reinforced the on-going community-based sanitation and water development efforts (Mishra, Ghose, & Bhog, 1993; Rogers, 1994). As Mishra, Ghose, and Bhog observe in their article describing the project,

> During a water committee training committee, someone commented "News from everywhere gets reported in the newspaper. We had better see that our pump is clean or our village will get a bad name." The capacity of the medium of communication and information-sharing, which is controlled by the women themselves, to act as a pressure group is revealed here. (p. 19)

This newspaper is fundamentally different from the neo-literate newspapers, developed in Chittoor, Kerala and elsewhere. While many of these neo-literate papers do devote some of their space to writings and letters from learners and new literates, the paper itself is written and edited by professional staff who receive their information from many sources. Written in local dialects and purposively simple language, they are developed for, not

by, learners and new literates (Carron & Bordia, 1985; Rogers, 1994; UNESCO, 1986c).

Another organization active in LGM is Nirantar (Continuing), a technical support NGO in Delhi. Nirantar maintains a network of some 700 local NGOs through whom an LGM newsletter, Pitara (basket) is circulated. Articles for Pitara are collected from organizations, who send in writings by participants in their programs. Niratar also conducts writers workshops itself as a means of developing materials. In discussions with Malini Ghose, Niratar Director in Kathmandu in January 1996, she described what she considered to be two key elements. First is that LGM products would promote reading for fun. In her opinion, there are too many development oriented materials and too few which new literates actually like to read. Secondly is the use of LGM for action research for communtiy development. Niratar has conducted LGM process methods, using Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques and writers workshops to support collective analysis and planning for action. The action research exercises can last from two to three weeks in one village, or can be conducted in 1-2 days, where the texts produced in the writers' workshops serve as tools for social change and community development.

E. Summary of Patterns

In reviewing the preceding examples and rationale, the diversity of purpose and application of LGM methods is apparent. The three rationale, as described above, are by no means mutually exclusive.

Programs have implemented LGM methods combining process and participatory action, while others have ascendant rationale, such as developing products for the greater goal of social change. In the context of less developed countries, patterns of practice have placed more emphasis on the use of LGM methods to produce texts. In this respect, more attention is paid developing LGM texts through writers' workshops, than on the process of integrating LGM methods into classrooms. In North America, as LGM texts have gained acceptance and popularity, the texts developed in adult basic education programs have been sent to donors and have been used for fund raising and public relations (Manadhar & Meyers, 1992; Martin, 1989; Rogers, 1994).

In the context of South Asia, it must be seen whether LGM initiatives will continue to place emphasis on holding special writing events for the production of LGM texts. Writing contests and writers' workshops have shown signs of popularity as a quick and easy way of producing texts, which in turn give tangible proof of learner participation, which has become a key ingredient in seeking donor support in the 1990s. The danger here lies in programs which ignore

issues in learner participation and ownership, especially in the editing and revision of the LGM texts. In this aspect of the materials development process, the style, voice and character of the text can be completely altered, while full learner participation can preserve the naturalness or originality of the LGM text. In research in 1991, Meyers identified levels of participation in the LGM process. Programs which interviewed 'learners' and later published their words, or which observed 'learners' and later used their 'words' and communication in texts were not considered to following an LGM method.

There is little research on adult literacy acquisition. Adult literacy theory is based on extrapolations from research on child literacy acquisition. While the great debate between phonics-based and meaning-based instruction continues, with whole language in popular ascendancy, there is still no body of solid research to show conclusively that one approach is superior to the other. Incorporating LGM activities into existing classrooms as a complement to on-going instructional practices would be supported if more research on the effects of the writing process were carried out. As it stands, what little practice and innovation is carried out is usually undocumented and therefore, unknown.

Research that does exist on LGM as a method has not paid much attention to the actual processes and practices followed. In the research available, the activities and

exercises followed by implementing programs are rarely described in any detail. Issues in the role of insider/outsider and in learner participation are also not well documented. This has made replication difficult and leaves no clear understanding for others of the processes followed. Without a clear sense of what teachers can do in their classrooms, or how writers' workshops can be conducted, there is scant hope that LGM methods will be found in anything more than sporadic efforts and special events.

Research is also missing on the impact of the LGM materials. While claims have been made as to the relevance and accessibility of LGM texts in comparison to centrally produced materials, research has yet to prove or disprove this. In Haaland's (1984) research on the pre-testing of communication materials and on visual literacy, the design of the text was found to be of equal importance to the messages printed as text. There has also been little documentation or research based on the opinions of new literate authors or the readers of LGM texts. What research does exist rarely includes the voices of participants or their opinions on the LGM process or the products developed, let alone their views of LGM as a tool for participatory action. In the hopes of casting more light on these, and other related issues, this research was carried out and the case studies documented.

End Note

1. This is only one of many examples of language choice for materials and the potential role of target group members as authors.

C H A P T E R I V

NEPAL

A. Contextual Background of Nepal

Tucked between China to the North and India on three sides, Nepal is a small rectangular country stretching 520 miles from East to West and 120 North to South. While considered the world's only Hindu Kingdom, Nepal is immensely diverse, with its 20 million people speaking some 40 different 'mother tongues', representing a mixture of Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman ancestry (CBS, 1993). Geographically, Nepal contains three distinct regions running in strips east to west: i) the high hills and Himalayas bordering China and Tibet, with 7% of the population; ii) the rugged Hills, accessible by foot and a few roads; and iii) the Terai, the flat, plains and breadbasket of Nepal, running alongside the Indian border and holding 47% of the population (CBS, 1991; Gurung, H., 1994). With a topography ranging from 6,880 meters on Mt. Everest to 70 metres in the Terai, the country is also naturally diverse. The following review of Nepal consists of three main parts: i) contextual background, which provides social and historical review relevant to LGM; ii) patterns of literacy activities, which reviews literacy use and programs for adult instruction and iii) patterns of LGM usage, which reviews the development and application of LGM methods in Nepal to date.

1. Historical and Cultural Mosaics

The lands occupied by Nepal today have been a crossroads of trade, military adventures, pilgrimages and refugees for millennium. The ancient kings of the Terai include King Janak, the father of Sita who married Ram in the Ramayama. In the eastern Terai are ancient capitals whose Kings and armies are mentioned in the Mahabaratha. Lord Buddha was the son of King Suddhodhana, whose Kingdom the Sakya, as well as Lord Buddha's birthplace Lumbini, are also in present day Nepal. Historically, however, the kingdom of Nepal has been associated with the Kathmandu Valley and the domains which have been ruled from there. The Valley, which stretches 25 km by 20 km, sits at 1,300 meters on the 28th parallel North, the same latitude as Orlando and Cairo. Geologically shown to have originally been a vast lake, tradition claims the mighty Manjushri, a Bodhisattva, cut a gorge with his sword on the South Western edge to drain Katmandu Valley and released the lush soil underneath for cultivation (Gurung, H., 1989; Lonely Planet, 1993

The first real settlers of Kathmandu were most probably Kirats, Tibeto-Burman agriculturalists who are thought to have settled throughout Nepal around 1,500 BC (Bista, 1985; Shaha, 1992; Regmi, 1991). These early Kirats, who left little trace, most probably practiced

animistic religions, worshipping forms of the earth mother-goddess. The Kirats were later joined by the Khas, Indo-Aryan pastoralists who arrived in smaller numbers from Western Nepal, where they had settled as they migrated north from the plains of India. The Khas are said to have settled in the Western part of Kathmandu valley, from where they greatly influenced the existing economic, social and structures of governance among the Kirats. The more populous Kirats were able to assert their dominance and establish their rule over the Khas and by the 8th century BC, the Kirats had established a flourishing Kingdom and celebrated nation, similar to Assam and Punjab, with fierce warriors and resourceful traders. It was from this blend of Kirati and Khas spoken in the valley, that the Nepali language was formed. This period of 'ancient history' in Nepal has left virtually no written records in Nepal with references to Kirats found only in the records of other cultures (Bista, 1987; Pandey, 1989; Shaha, 1992).

All this is clouded history. It is based on oral roots, common beliefs, academic bias and conjecture. The ethnic groups today who trace their roots to the Kirats include the Limbus and Rais of eastern Nepal, as well as the Newars of Kathmandu Valley. Revisionist Brahmin history, however, has tried to show that the early Kirats practiced forms of Vaisism, which place them, and Nepal, under a broader pan-Hindu framework. More current

scholarship has challenged this, as does popular sentiment among the Rai and Limbu.

The Kirats maintained their independence and cultural integrity within the Valley, in a state which is said to have endured for 1000 years, due to the fact that no sizable migrant groups from the Gagnetic plains ever penetrated to the Valley. As a result, the Nepali language was never Sanskritized and the cultural identity of Kathmandu was allowed to flourish with a blend of Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman roots, with Hindu and Buddhist flavors, and with a distinct language (Bista, 1991, 1985). The Newars, a distinct Kathmandu-valley based ethnic group, is renowned for its rich cultural and artistic heritage and strong entrepreneurial skills. Nepalese history and current society remains a constant mingling of peoples and populations, with religion, culture and social practices always changing and redefining their boundaries.

Medieval Nepal emerged in the 800s with the decline of the Licchavis, the last of the Kirat dynasty, and lasted until the late 18th century. It was a period of many petty kingdoms, feudal structures and political instability, both inside the Valley and out. This period was marked by a rise in the Hindu political and social influences in Nepal. Hindu priests had taken over the rights of most Valley temples by the mid-900s and were collecting the profits from offerings and land rights (Slusser, 1982; Vajracharya; 1989). The Malla Kings, who were Newars, were the first

royal family in Kathmandu Valley to retrace their lineage back to India, with heavenly descent attributed to the sun. In the earlier Licchavi and Kirat dynasties, royalty traced their lineage north, and heavenly descent from the moon (Bista, 1991; Levy, 1994; Regmi, 1991; Shaha, 1992).

It was under the Mallas, in the later 1000's, that Kathmandu enforced a codified caste system, with 64 occupational sub-castes delineated (Slusser, 1982; Vajracharya, 1989). The early Kathmandu caste structure was incredibly complex as it needed to integrate the various occupational castes performed by different ethnic groups, many of whom refused to be considered untouchable. Varied intra-ethnic, clan-group marriage practices also needed to be incorporated in the rules of the Nepali caste system. One reason for the rise in Hindu structures within Kathmandu was the increasing power of the Khas is western Nepal. Throughout the 1000 years of feudalism in Nepal, the west remained an uneasy confederation of Khas Kingdoms, whose military might and stratagems were continually practiced on each other, and whose influence on Kathmandu were considerable. By the 1200s, there were 24 Khas Kingdoms in the West who were governed by the Thakurs, a Chettri family which traced its lineage to the royal family of Raajput (Bista, 1992).

In referring to caste in Nepal, it must be noted that although a Hindu Kingdom today, Nepal's caste structure is different from that maintained in India. One reason for

this is the large number of ethnic groups who engage in defiling activities but who refused to be classified as untouchables as Hinduism was adopted. Indigenous ethnic groups which carry out trade and administrative skills and who interact with Brahmins on a daily basis do not fit into the rigid caste mold. To the majority of Nepalis, there are only two important castes, clean (you can share water) and unclean (water sharing unacceptable). Within ethnic groups such as the Newars, there are unique caste systems, while Tibeto-Burman cultural groups have their own hierarchical clan systems of "jats" (Bista, 1992; Regmi, 1991).

In general terms, the five-tiered caste system in Nepal can be depicted by parts of the body. Brahmins are at the head, with Chettris, Thakurs and some Newars following as the arms. Other Newar sub-castes, and Awadi, Magyar and Maithali ethnic groups are classified as Vaishyas, or the general inner organs, while Gurungs, Tamangs, Rais and Limbus are the legs, or Shudras. The Damai Bika and Kami occupational castes, as well as the Chepang and Badi ethnic groups, make the feet and are considered untouchable. It is interesting to note that Buddhists and Hindus are often found worshipping at the same temples in Nepal because Lord Buddha has been identified by Hindus as the 9th re-incarnation of Vishnu (Acharya, 1981; Bista, 1985; Rajaure, 1981).

In considering ethnic diversity, there are three major groupings which can be identified. The first are referred

to in the census as Nepalis, who are made up of primarily Bahun, Chettri and untouchable Hindus. The second are the Terai groups, including from east to west the Maithali, Bojpuri, Abadhi, and Tharu, although the Tharu may also be classified as Tibeto-Burman. The third group are the Tibeto-Burman hill and mountain people, including form East to West the Rai, Limbu, Newar, Tamang, Magyar and Gurung (CBS, 1993; Gautham & Thapa-Magyar, 1994; Gurung, 1994).

Caste and social division is not restricted to ethnicity and religious status. In Nepal, there is also the issue of geography, with people also socially categorized by mountain, hill and Terai. The heavy migration and population explosion in the Terai since the 1960s, with the eradication of malaria in the Terai jungles, has resulted in the creation a new Terai identity. The Terai identity, according the Jha, has distinct divides and hierarchies within itself and in relation to the rest of Nepal. In his work "Grasping the Terai Identity" D.R. Dahal describes three distinct divides:

> The first is between Pahada, or hillman, and the Madhesiya, or plainsman. The second split is between the Hindu caste groups and the "original" ethnic groups such as the Tharus, and the third is the divide between high-caste Hindu groups and the Terai low caste Hindu groups. . . . Preferring to identify their communities as distinct from Terai caste groups, some Tharu and Dhimal leaders insist that they have more in common with the hill ethnicities (i.e., Gurung, Tamang) of Nepal. (1992, p. 17)

The unification of Nepal, under the King Narayan Shah, a Thakur ruler from a Kingdom in the West occurred in 1756, when he militarily united the country by taking Kathmandu.

His ninth direct descendent, King Bikram Dev Shah, rules as beloved monarch of His Majesty's Government of Nepal (HMG/N) today. For much of their reign, however, the Shah Kings were show monarchs, controlled by a family of Ranas, who ruled Nepal from around the throne from 1846 - 1951. The Rana Prime Ministers, who passed the ministerial throne to eldest living brothers, ruled the semi-feudal kingdom autocratically for over 100 years. Never colonized by Britain, Nepal maintained an isolated independence, with the extended Rana family living in incredible splendor luxury while the population toiled without attention to basic rights or needs. This was a period of intense isolation and foreigners were kept out as much as possible, although Nepal's Gurkha soldiers did earn international fame and revenue for Nepal (Sever, 1993).

Under Jang Bahadur Rana, the first Prime Minister, the caste system was strengthened by issuing an official code with strictly delineated occupational and familial hierarchies. As Chettris from the West, the rise of the Ranas also increased the ascendancy of the Kha language and Hindu social structure. Newari culture, language and script, and the social status of the eastern and Tibeto-Burman ethnic groups, were further marginalized under the Ranas. Jang Bahadur also instituted the first national language code, approved a systematized Devanagari orthography for Nepali and saw to the development of dictionaries and grammars (Bista, 1992; Sever, 1993).

Under the earlier Ranas, who lived in absolute control, the basic conditions of the Nepalese people were ignored and education was viewed as dangerous. While popular opposition to the Ranas had been building for some time, with constitutional reforms initiated in 1948, it was in 1951 that a people's revolution, in alliance with King Tribhuvan, "overthrew" the Rana Regime. A coalition government was formed, made up of Nepali Congress leaders, previously in exile in India, and the Rana rulers, in an uneasy alliance brokered by India and the King. Finally, in 1959, the first national election was held, which resulted in a Congress victory. Mr. B. P. Koirala became the first elected Prime Minister. His tenure was ended in 1960 by the King, who dissolved the government and established the Panchayat, party-less system of governance in its stead. While still influenced by Ranas, the Panchayat government viewed the development of the people as a national priority, and the feudal structures continued to be altered, though not removed, by the popular demands of an expanding educated class.

2. Current Levels of Development

The current statistics on Nepal are somewhat staggering. It is generally considered to be one of the ten poorest nations on earth, with a 1994 per capita income of $160 (UNDP, 1994). Approximately 90% of the population are subsistence farmers and 63% have no access to safe drinking

water. According to the State of the World's Children Report in 1995, Nepal is only country in the world where the average life expectancy of women is lower than men (UNICEF, 1995). The infant mortality rate is over 1% while 65% of all children under 3 years of age suffer from chronic malnutrition, resulting in growth stunting (NMIS, 1995; UNICEF, 1992b). With no history of education, literacy rates for women are only 25% while only 26% of the children who enrol in primary school complete the 5-year cycle in five years. Drop-outs and repeaters in Class One stand at 35% of the children enrolled (Nepal MOE, 1991; NMIS, 1995; UNFPA, 1994). Of the population, over 85% are engaged in agrarian labor, tilling the soil, while less than 10% are employed in wage economy. In total, there are less 1000 miles of road, concentrated mainly in the Terai, and transportation, communication and infrastructure are all extremely poor (UNICEF, 1992c).

Nepal is a darling in the development industry. Donors have lined up for three decades to contribute to the process of national development. In 1995, outside donors were contributing some 60% of the national budget, with HMG/N resources covering less than 40% of the costs required to run the country. Even with all this support, Nepal remains stagnant in terms of growth, resting on the bottom of the development ladder. Topographically, the land is rugged and impenetrable. Except for the Terai, journeys to the interior of districts are a matter of walking, often

for days at a time. In such terrain, farming is difficult, landslides common and communication and transportation dysfunctional. Nepal is also landlocked, dependent on India for access to the sea. In 1990, as a result of a dispute with India, borders were closed for eight months, crippling Nepal's economy. Nepal also has no of natural resources in terms of precious metals, gems, or oil. Water, with its potential for hydro-electric energy, remains relatively untapped and the lack roads and infrastructure make its access and use difficult. The proposed World Bank hydro-power plant, Arun III, which was cancelled in 1995, proposed a 250 megawatt facility which required 10 years just for the construction of the road to the dam site. There is no heavy industry and the private sector is primarily informal. The local economy is dependent upon seasonal tourism and carpet exports for sustenance. In such a situation, it is no wonder that Nepal's national development is difficult.

In trying to explain the low status of less developed counties, sociologists and anthropologists have turned to the ethos of the people. Inkeles and Smith's (1974) research on social psychology in terms of national development refers to modernization of social psychology as the key element which precipitates development. In his work, Fatalism and Development in Nepal, Bista (1992) forcefully states that Nepal's development miasma is connected to a "fatalistic hierarchy" where status and

social mobility are the products of fate, and where offerings, to gods and to authority figures, increase ones chances for reward. Bista points out that these beliefs are strongest among Brahmin and Chettris in Nepal, but adds that these families have maintained virtual control over religious practices, salaried positions and places of authority throughout Nepal's history. The belief in karma, and the role of fate in determining one's lot in life, has been used by Bahuns/Chettris in Nepal as a means of maintaining their dominant position and to keep the less fortunate castes and ethnic groups justifiably in their places. This was further supported by education, which has been controlled to this day by Bahun Ministers and Secretaries, and traditionally, teachers and headmasters. As Bista states:

> The role of one's own personal actions in influencing Karma is neglected . . . Fatalism greatly affects purposeful problem-solving and goal-achievement behaviour. . . The most important focal constructs in understanding possible limitations in the Nepali attitude to development are those of achievement motivation and the work ethic. . . Concepts of rights, privileges and obligations, take on a special limited meaning in a hierarchic society, in that they exist only in connection with caste. . . it becomes difficult to attribute success or failure to individual action. (1992, p. 77)

While primarily a Bahun-based critique of Nepal's current development status, Bista highlights a number of key cultural issues which have resulted in the fatalistic attitude of Nepalis toward national, community and personal development. This has been supported by research conducted

Stacy Pigg (1992), who worked in Kathmandu and villages of Nepal to assess local perspectives on development ('bikas'). What Pigg found was a 'bikas syndrome' through which Nepalis identified their relation to other parts of the world. Peripheries, such as the village, are not considered to be developed. As a 'quantifiable term', bikas is perceived as something 'not locally produced' but as something available from developed places, like Kathmandu, or outside of Nepal (p. 497).

In Pigg's analysis, the belief that the 'bikas syndrome' is a state which has been obtained outside Nepal, in donor countries, has been fostered by donors themselves, who foist values and aid upon Nepal in hopes of replication. Similarly, educated Kathmandu-ites and other city dwellers regard themselves as more 'bikas' than village bumpkins, who themselves believe how 'abikas' (undeveloped) they really are. In her research, Pigg found that this concept has been reified by villagers themselves, who internalize the belief that they are obstacles to their own development, which they look outside the village to find. In this respect,

> while villages are the objects of development and villagers its recipients, they are also obstacles to national development. . . Rather than coming to terms with communities as they actually exist, development programs . . . consistently make moves to marginalize the villagers expressed points of view. (p. 506)

With the majority of Nepalis living in poverty, and with poor health and poor sanitation in villages, the

effects of such a culture of fatalism are devastating in terms of development. Villagers feel that they are unable to develop themselves and therefore look to the authorities at the center. Authorities, looking down on villagers and villages as undeveloped, do not build partnerships or foster participatory approaches to development. Indigenous forms of knowledge and successful forms of self-development are neither sought nor found. Experts, trained externally, use western models as the means of planning projects. With the expansion of schooling, village youth and parents become further convinced that bikas lies outside the village, especially as the illustrations and models provided in textbooks are usually western or Kathmandu based.

3. Results of Democracy Movement in 1990

There are three main outcomes of the democracy which have direct relevance to LGM. These are decentralization policies, an increase in the role of local NGOs, and a liberalized language policy. Before moving into these outcomes, however, a small review of government and administration structures will be provided. Nepal is divided five development regions (East, Central, West, Mid-West and Far West) but the national administrative unit is the district. There are 75 districts in Nepal, each governed by an elected DDC Chairman, or governor. The district headquarters also contain the line agency offices,

each with between 5-25 staff. The District Education Office, for example, is responsible for the planning, programming, monitoring, administrating, supervising, and accounting of the primary, secondary and nonformal government education activities in the district. Each district is further divided into Village Development Committees (VDCs), with elected members and chairpersons, who oversee the administration and government bureaucracy. Each VDC is further divided into 9 Wards, the smallest government structure, whose elected chairpersons become members of the VDC. There are 4,023 VDCs in Nepal, with populations usually between 3,000 - 5,000 (Gurung & Roy, 1987).

One relevant outcome of democracy has been attempts at the decentralization of authority and decision making by HMG. Policies have been instituted, in all sectors, to allow district level line agency staff greater control in district level decision making, program planning and technical inputs. In the recent UML Communist government, (11/94 - 10/95), a decentralized Build Your Village Yourself program was initiated, in which local Village Development Committee elected bodies received HMG funds directly for local development initiatives. This program has been continued by the current coalition government, and marks a radical break with the tightly controlled decision making structure which marked national bureaucracy and administration of the Rana and Panchayat eras.

Another result of the democracy movement is the increased status, role, and support of local NGOs. Prior to 1990, the process for registering local NGOs was extremely difficult and cumbersome, with many restrictions placed on registration and access to external donor support. The Social Service National Welfare Council (SSNWC), established under the Chairmanship of the Queen, had been totally responsible for the NGO registration process. Donors who wished to work with local NGOs were required to submit proposals and channel their funds through the SSNWC. After the democracy movement, the process for registering local NGOs was loosened, and both Chief Development Offices in the districts, as well as the reformed Social Welfare Council (SWC), having the authority to register NGOs. As a result, from some 50 local NGOs registered in 1989, by mid-1993, there were over 1,100 NGOs registered at the SWC, while another 7,000 were estimated to be registered with the CDOs (Shrestha, 1994).

Of this number, in 1993, over 200 local NGOs were actively involved in implementing adult literacy classes. In most cases, these newly established NGOs were weak in terms of technical capacity, management, reporting, and monitoring (Shrestha, 1994; UNICEF, 1992). Nonetheless, NGO coverage, in terms of adult literacy participants, expanded from 15,000 in 1989 to over 250,000 in 1994. Local NGOs offered donors an alternative to the District Education Office, which struggled with high drop out, poor

monitoring, and poor financial accountability. Local NGOs were also able to offer adult literacy as part of an integrated program, with follow up community development activities also supported. In contrast, the MOE classes could only refer adult new literates to other line agencies for income generation, health or drinking water activities. NGO networks and federations have been established to coordinate and advocate on behalf of the Nepalese NGO community, on education and on other issues. Since 1994, HMG MOE has officially endorsed NGOs as partners with the policy that government quotas of literacy classes as allotted to each district can be given to local NGOs for implementation.

In terms of linguistic liberalization, the democratic movement has also brought about constitutional reforms which have loosened the restrictions on minority language education. This has had several effects. The new freedom to develop course materials and approaches which utilize mother tongue instruction opens the door for still further innovation and impact in adult literacy programs. The constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 states every community residing within the kingdom of Nepal shall have the right to conserve and promote its language, script and culture, and each community shall have the right to establish schools for imparting education in mother tongues of the concerned child. (Chumlung, 1994, p. 1). For government primary schools, there have been efforts to

translate the teachers manuals for the new Nepali primary textbooks into five local languages. Many of the communities with strong linguistic and cultural heritages, including the Rai, Maitheli, Newar, and Limbu are making systematic and organized efforts to re-claim their scripts and their mother tongues in the past five years. NGOs have also been active in developing supplementary reading materials for adult literacy class participants who don't speak Nepali.

B. Literacy Use and Programs of Instruction

1. Development of Scripts and Traditional Education

The history of written language in Nepal is complex. In Kathmandu Valley, there was no indigenous script. The Kirats were an oral people who had not developed and did not use written communication systems. In both the Licchavi and Malla empires, the written language of the court was Sanskrit. Sanskrit inscriptions, engravings, holy texts and translations by the Newar artisans of Kathmandu Valley of the Licchavi era were famous throughout the Region for their beauty and precision (Shaha, 1992; Vajracharya, 1989).

During the Licchavi period, and throughout the Mulla era, Nepal exerted great influenced culturally upon Tibet, sending architects and craftsmen to work on the great temples of the time. In addition, many scriptures and

religious texts were copied and translated by Newari artisans. Within Kathmandu, a system of educational institutions flourished, with basic education provided by monastic schools and universities of higher learning training architects, engineers and highly skilled laborers. These schools were based in temples, were run by monks and abbeys and were maintained throughout the Licchavi Period (Bista, 1991; Pandey, 1989; Regmi; 1991; Shaha, 1992: Vajracharya, 1989). Although the later Licchavis were followers of Vaishnavism, the royal family were syncretic, and supported Mahayana Buddhism and Saivism equally, maintaining their rites and supporting their temples in the valley (Bista, 1992; Sharma, P., 1989; Slusser, 1982).

With the increased influence of gagnetic kingdoms on the Valley under the Mallas, by the 13th century, Maithili written language became increasingly favored in the court. Maithali was a mix of Sanskrit and Bengali, using a Brahmi-based orthography and script. Maithali was used in the court records of this time, as well as in poetry and drama. Court writers and royalty of the time engaged in rich literary activity, with complex systems of rhyme and rhythm in poetry (Hutt, 1988; Malla, K., 1982; Pradhan, 1984). While Newars were the driving cultural and ethnic force of the Valley, Newar as a script did not appear until the 12th century, and then mainly as a device for translating Sanskrit texts into the local spoken language. It is closely related to Maithali and based on Brahmi

orthography. Brahmi-based scripts and orthography's were adopted by ethnic groups throughout the sub-continent and Himalayas at this time, including Tibetan, Hindi and Rai. (Hodgson, 1991; Slusser, 1982). As Mary Slusser describes:

> Brahmi was perfected by Indian phoneticians to serve Sanskrit, but modified in various ways, it came to serve all the chief languages of northern India (Urdu excepted). . . .One of the derivative scripts was employed in the Gupta Empire, and through the Licchavis passed into Nepal to become the exclusive form of writing used in their inscriptions. (1982, p. 395)

Under the Mallas and other dynasties of this time, the educational system also changed. Buddhist institutions were gradually closed, especially the university system, although children could still enrol in monasteries for work and regulated learning. Throughout the 1000's and 1100's, Kathmandu experienced periods of Hindu fundamentalism accompanied by Buddhist persecutions, with book burnings, desecrations of temples and the imposition of caste penalties and land seizures (Vajracharya, 1989; Malla, 1989). In the increasingly Hindu valley, the Hindu education model of guru/shishya, or teacher/student, often a father/son or close relative, increased in practice. In this model, sons learned religious roles, responsibilities and prayers, along with Sanskrit for reading religious texts. Education was shaped according to one's caste, with basic education limited to only the upper castes. Bahuns and Chettris, as well as Newar Sakyas and Bajracharyas, maintained tight control over their education systems through cultural and religious norms (Hutt, 1988; Bista,

1992). Literacy practices were restricted to a few select families, increasing their ascendancy and control within the Kingdom and building the exclusionary foundation of education which endures today.

The Nepali spoken and written today is primarily of Khas origin, with influences felt from Sanskrit, Hindi and local languages. A certain 'Mughalization' of vocabulary also occurred in the 17th and 18th centuries (Hutt, 1988). The earliest examples of Khas Nepali in written form is from the Western Mallas of the old Khas Kingdoms from the 14th century. Common usage of Nepali written language did not take place until the 17th century and the earliest literary use of Nepali is dated 1713. The Nepali script, Devanagari, is also derived from Brahmi. The Devanagari alphabet uses some 50 letters, as well as a some 500 distinct symbols (ra) which are needed to convey all the consonantal combinations (Bista, 1992; Malla, 1989; Regmi, 1991; Slusser, 1982). With the ascendancy of Khas language and its official recognition, as well as through active discrimination against other scripts by Khas rulers, the use of written Newari declined throughout the 1800's. By the early 1900's, it had all but disappeared from daily use (Slusser, 1982). Newari is still used in Buddhist religious practices, and in the 1994, one Newari primary school had been established in Kathmandu which teaches Newari, along with Nepali and English.

2. Current Literacy Practices and Literacy Usage

Under the Rana Prime Minsters of the 1800 and 1900s, mass education of the people was not allowed. Illiteracy was seen as a means of control (Bista, 1992). The first school, established under Jung Bahadur in the 1860s, was located on palace grounds and attended by only Royal and Rana children. Later in 1878, the Durbar High School was shifted outside the palace and opened up for wider enrolment. Enrolment was restricted to Brahmin, Chettris and Newars. Graduates of the first school were hired by the Ranas to handle the clerical and bureaucratic aspects of managing the country. Dev Sumsher Rana, who succeeded his elder brother as Prime Minister in 1901, was an idealist who quickly opened 200 schools before being exiled after four months in office by his younger brother. The schools were closed and were viewed as 'instruments of treason' by successive brothers. In later years, Rana Prime Ministers became more benevolent and supportive of education. After WWII, when 11 Gorkha Regiments returned from the war, the demand for education for children greatly increased (Bista, 1992, Sever, 1992).

After the first democracy movement in the 1950's, real progress was made in the 1960s under the Panchayat System in the area of education. Schools and education were liberalized and encouraged by the government. Any community or individual who wanted to could open a school. There was no national curriculum or standard, but anyone interested

and so motivated could open a school. Most curricula were based on Indian models and textbooks, which were British based, needed to be portered in from the South. In 1951, there were 321 primary schools in the entire country while by 1961, there were over 4,000 primary schools established serving 180,000 children (UNESCO, 1986b; Sharma, 1983). The Jesuits were also in the forefront of education, and established St Xaviers school in 1955, which created the core of Nepal's English-speaking intellectuals. The National Education Planning Commission (NECP) was formed in 1954 by the King to survey the status and needs of Nepal and in order to establish a unified system. Under the auspices of the NEPC, all schools were nationalized and in 1956, Tribhuvan University was established.

The NECP also established a national language policy which required that only Nepalese be taught in schools. This set off great protests in the Terai, where the Hindi language movement and the Terai Congress Party was advocating for Hindi as the second national language. Riots and armed protests erupted in major cities in 1954 and 1956 over the language issue. In 1959, after the election, the Koirala government immediately allowed for Hindi, Maithali and Newari languages to be taught in schools. In 1960, under the new Panchayat system, this policy was reversed, and only Nepali was allowed as the medium of instruction. Later, this policy was softened and Hindi was allowed as an elective subject in the upper secondary grades. This

restrictive Nepali language policy was influenced by the desire for education to serve the role of building a stronger sense of national identity (Bista, 1992; Hutt, 1988; Sever, 1993; Stiller, 1993).

With no national experience in education, the Panchayat government of the 1960s and 1970s, had to start basically from scratch. Throughout the 1960s, the government maintained an open policy for school registrations: anyone who desired could open a school. Not until 1971 was the National Education System Plan (NESP) established to standardize curricula and examinations. In 1975, NESP initiated an ambitious plan, which set out national examinations and promotion standards, with free primary education provided for all by the national government (Sharma, 1989). The NESP system was short-lived. With ambitious systems for standardization and quality, Nepali society was not yet ready for a system which depended upon individual performance rather than caste or family connections. Standardized examinations were soon phased out, as were other 'quality' recommendations of the NESP Committee (Bista, 1992; UNESCO, 1986b, 1991; World Education, 1987).

In 1981, the government expanded the primary education cycle from three years to five years, and initiated a system of testing after Class 5, Class 8, and Class 10. While the number of primary schools continued to expand, the quality of education was questionable. To address the

issues of access and quality, HMG/N initiated the Basic and Primary Education Project in 1989, which receives support from World Bank, Asia Development Bank, UNICEF, DANIDA and JICA. By 1990, there were over 17,000 primary schools in the country and new primary curriculum and textbooks for the primary classes, the first in 20 years, were being developed. In 1995, with over 20,000 schools, access to basic education is no longer a real issue for Nepal. While quantitative expansion has been achieved, the quality of primary education is abysmal. Of the children who enrol in primary Class One, approximately 26% complete their basic education in 5 years (BPEP, 1991; Nepal MOE, 1994; NMIS, 1995). Of the children who manage to complete primary school, less than 35% had achieved the minimal basic competencies in math, language and social sciences when tested (UNICEF, 1994).

In terms of actual Nepali literacy use and practice, school based literacy practice is essay based, with national examinations administered in Class 5, Class 8, and Class 10. Normal literacy practice in the classroom includes reading aloud and copying from the board and filling in blanks. From a distance, one can hear learning in primary schools through the empty chanting of children, repeating tables, spelling word lists aloud, and shouting the letters of the alphabet in unison. In 1993, only 28% of Class 10 students passed the national examination and received their School Leaving Certificate (Pant, 1994).

While there is a flourishing newspaper industry, with over 100 different small papers in the country, circulation is low, with less than 1% of the population with access to written news (UNDP, 1994).

In his ethnographic study of literacy uses in a Nepali village, Thapilaya (1993) found that most communication was oral, and that print communication was a restricted to specifc contexts. These have been divided into four categories. In the first are extension materials and posters and sheets dealing with various developmental themes, which were often visually stimulating with minimal print. These were occasionally read aloud. In the second are religious scripts, prayer books and religious calendars, which were consulted and read aloud regularly. The third involved social reading, which consisted of reading and writing letters and notes, and reading stories aloud from the children's textbooks. These were usually group activities conducted for the whole family to enjoy. Lastly were farming related literacy activities, including reading and filling out land tax forms and legal documents. Thapilaya found that literacy classes had expanded the role of literacy in the lives of women, allowing them to engage in print without help from male members of the family.

In the village, without electricity or transportation, print environment consists of election posters and signs, labels of goods and commercial products, religious texts and posters and school textbooks. In the villages visited

for this case study, most homes had no print in the main rooms. In the kitchen and dining areas, print was visible on match boxes and paper scraps. There were also posters of deities in some cooking areas, those these did not contain any writing. In the sleeping quarters, school books were usually kept together on shelves. Previous years' schoolbooks were usually placed together and dusty from lack of use. In the rooms of teenagers in the village, there were a variety of print materials, including posters of Indian cinema stars, school certificates, and colorful extension posters on health and agriculture. In none of the villages did I find books for sale, nor did I find comics, novels, or other types of pleasurable reading materials. In some village shops, pens and notebooks were sold.

3. History of NFE

In consideration of the abysmal state of education and the low rates of literacy in the country, Nepal began to experiment with adult basic education in the 1950s. In 1953, Frank Laubach was invited to Nepal to work on adult literacy curriculum and materials. This work, completed in 1956, resulted in the first set of adult NFE materials, which were implemented in small numbers through the 1950s. By the 1960s, three different sets of adult literacy materials were being implemented by the government: a four month reading writing program, a six month functional literacy program, and a 6 month nonformal basic education

program. Each had a different donor and all were implemented on relatively small scale. Radio was also used to support these adult basic education initiatives (UNESCO, 1986a, 1991).

In the 1970s, UNESCO supported a 'multi-message, functional literacy program' which served a total of 300,000 between 1975 and 1980. These efforts, however, were seen as inadequate when viewed in light of the total number of adult illiterates in the country, so alternative approaches were sought. In 1978, USAID agreed to support the development and testing of new adult literacy curriculum and materials. This work was carried out by the Center for Educational Research, Innovation and Development (CERID), of Tribhuvan University, and World Education, under the newly formed Adult Education Section of MOE. These curricula and materials took some five years to pilot and finalize, and were based on Paolo Freire's Key Word Approach. The outcome is the Naya Goreto (New Path) series which is used today as the main course book for adult literacy classes. These adult basic classes, funded primarily by USAID, UNICEF and HMG/N, served some 100,000 adults in 1990 and were expanded to serve over 400,000 adults in 1994 (NFE Council, 1995). Please see the Appendices for a detailed graph of the expansion of adult literacy coverage in Nepal over the past 5 years.

The adult literacy program is a six month course which meets six times per week, two hours per day. The classes

are usually held at night, after field work and household chores, in groups of 20-30 participants. A facilitator, who receives a nine days pre-service training, also receives a blackboard, five lanterns, and kerosene for the classes. The print materials for these adult classes includes Naya Goreto student primers (currently 2 volumes, previously 4 volumes), as well as Discussion Posters, Math Posters, Letter Cards, a Teachers Guide and a Teachers Manual. The course book, or primer, is Naya Goreto, which consists of 26 chapters. Each chapter begins with the illustration from the discussion poster. The illustration depicts a 'generative theme' (Brown, 1970; Freire, 1970), and is intended to provoke reflective discussion among participants. Beneath the illustration, the Key Word is printed in large print. These Key Words were chosen to reinforce national development needs and interests and in order to present all the letters of the Devanagari alphabet. After discussion of the poster and the Key Word, a variety of phonics based exercises and activities are presented. Word lists are combined with simple reading passages and games. Letter Cards are also used to make new words and for games and for testing activities. As part of the nonformal approach, adult participants take turn leading the class. Small group activities and discussions are also common. A Facilitators Manual provides facilitators with a review of the nonformal philosophy and general methods, while a Facilitators Guide gives specific

lesson plans for each chapter (Nepal MOE, 1990; World Education, 1988).

The objectives of the Naya Goreto adult literacy package and program are threefold. In the first is basic literacy acquisition: the materials provide basic writing, reading and numeracy skills. In the second is the functional aspect. The materials use the Key Work approach to reinforce national development messages and themes, with emphasis on basic life skills and functional awareness. Examples of Key Words include Cleanliness, Landslide, and Water. In the third is confidence raising and group building. The classes are viewed as an 'entry point' for other follow-up community development initiatives. Participants, upon completion of the course, are already formed into groups, have an awareness of the needs of the villages and believe in their own capacity to act and speak up. Other agencies refer to new literate men and women as being more open to change and willing to participate in their own development (SCF US, 1993; UNICEF, 1992b; World Education, 1988). As a result, many organizations use basic literacy classes as a means of forming mothers groups and village committees, and to reinforce on-going development themes that are community based (UNESCO YCF, 1993).

Naya Goreto is totally in Nepali and is used as the basic primer for all agencies implementing adult literacy programs. While there are smaller scale efforts for women and children, using unique materials, the Naya Goreto

package is implemented in all 75 district of the country. This has resulted in some difficulties in terms of using Naya Goreto with non-Nepali speaking participants. SCF US conducted a small study of three ethnic groups in rural adult literacy classes (Tamang, Tharu and Magyar). Over 50% of those interviewed had minimal understanding of the words which they were learning, even after they had completed the lessons. Only 25% of literacy class completers could actually understand the meaning of the Key Words which they could recite aloud (SCF US, 1994). To date, however, there have been no efforts by MOE to develop local language NFE materials. There is also the issue of regional nature of the texts, with Naya Goreto giving bias to hill based illustrations and references over those from the Terai. There has been one effort by UNESCO to develop Terai based Naya Goreto, adapting the Key Words, generative themes and illustrations to the Terai context. This pilot was carried out in 1994 and has not met with success due several factors and may not be continued due to funding.

As mentioned, as part of the commitment to Education For All pledged by Nepal in the Jomtien Conference in 1990, adult literacy programs have been greatly expanded over the past five years. Government commitment, which supports adult literacy in a cost-sharing arrangement with donors, has also been increased. While the program are popular with participants, and while the Naya Goreto materials have won international awards and recognition, the drop out from

programs is still high, with over 30% of participants not completing the courses in 1992. Implementation of the adult programs has also expanded, from only the Adult Education Section of MOEC in the 1980s, to both AES and BPEP of MOEC and local NGOs in the 1990s. Donor support has also expanded, from primarily UNICEF and HMG/N in the late 1980s and early 1990s to include USAID and DANIDA in the mid 1990s.

The new democratic government of Nepal sent a delegation to the Jomtien Summit for Education For All, which agreed to ambitious plans for reducing the adult illiteracy rate by half by the year 2000. This promise set out to raise adult literacy from less than 35% in 1990 to 70% by the year 2000. In the Eighth Five Year Plan, HMG/N prepared a plan to reach over 500,000 adults per year by 1994, an effort it hoped to sustain throughout the decade. The financial resources were planned for cost sharing with key donors, including UNICEF, USAID and DANIDA. International NGOs, especially World Education and Save the Children Fund (SCF) U.S., have also been very active in adult literacy and nonformal education since the 1970s. Since 1993, however, acceptance of local NGOs as viable partners for adult literacy and community development programs has also grown. In 1994, UNICEF was supporting over 100 NGOs to implement adult literacy classes for over 100,000 adults, while USAID provided support for over 300 NGOs. Please see the Appendix for the chart expansion of

adult literacy programs in Nepal over the past 4 years (UNICEF, 1992c; Shrestha, 1994).

C. Experiences with LGM in Nepal

In the 1980s, Lutheran World Service (LWS), was implementing integrated community development projects in several districts in Eastern Nepal. As part of their programs, LWS also supported adult literacy programs, using the national Naya Goreto texts. One issue that LWS programs faced, however, was the lack of reading materials for villagers. To address this issue, a quarterly newsletter was produced called *Ukeli,* or Going to the Top. The first few issues were almost entirely made up of stories and articles by LWS staff, through a few letters from project sites and new-literates were also included. In later editions, the newsletter addressed wider implications of reading and writing and the use of news to disseminate information on relevant topics. More letters and stories from graduates of literacy classes were requested and printed.

In an interview with Joy Poppe of LWS, she described how in the 1990's, the newsletter actively sought to bring together the efforts of scattered groups of new literates to learn from each other. This was done by posing questions or issues from one village and asking for opinions or advice from other readers, which would be printed in subsequent issues. According to Joy, the main issues facing

Ukeli, and later its sister newsletter Choutari, were the distribution system, both for the delivery of the materials and the collection of subscriptions. It was also difficult to elicit and collect writing, especially from village women who may have felt unable or too busy to contribute stories. Linking the newsletter directly to community initiatives, including village reading centers or post-literacy programs, is being tried as a means of strengthening the newsletter system.

The United Mission to Nepal (UMN), an international NGO, has also developed a series of LGM texts for new literates called Pipal Books. These books were developed with the goal of expanding the purpose of reading from strictly life skills and development messages to fun, entertainment and story telling. Pipal Books are essentially interesting stories collected by UMN staff from villagers around Nepal, a form of the Language Experience Approach is used to develop the materials, whereby the UMN staff person, in discussion with the story teller, writes and revises the story. The authors of the texts, however, may not necessarily be participants in adult literacy classes. The key ingredient, according to Cathleen White, the originator of the Pipal series, is that there is a story to tell. UMN staff are asked to look for good stories, and when they find one, the process of turning the story into a text may take months of telling, revising and re-telling.

There is much interaction in the process, and the 'author' is able to revise and edit the story, often in a communal process which involves other members of their family. The Pipal series is graded according to four levels of difficulty. Red books are the simplest, with 24 size print, one phrase per line and 70% of the page for illustrations. Adults who have not completed Naya Goreto course are still able to read a Red Level Book, while the highest level Blue Books use short paragraphs, only 30% illustration, and more complex sentence structures and vocabulary (UMN, 1993). The Pipal Books cost between Rs. 10 and Rs. 15. The quality of the paper, printing and cover stock is radically better than any other material produced specifically for new literates. This is a conscious decision on the part of UMN to give the stories a more professional and spicy look, inferring that books for adult new literates are not second class. UMN also believes that the thick and glossy covers also help the books last longer, thereby supporting their cost effectiveness (UMN, 1993).

Pipal books have been enjoying increased readership and more titles since their inception in 1992. In addition, UMN has been piloting LGM activities with community groups and literacy classes at the community level. According to S. Subesi of UMN, after participating in the LGM TOT by SCF US in 1993, he introduced UMN staff to the concept and process of writers workshops. In Jajarkot, Ramechap, and

Lalitpur districts, writing process activities and whole language exercises were introduced directly into the basic literacy classes. Learners now practice real writing and exchange their work within the classroom. To this classroom based practice, UMN has added the 9 portable lithograph silk screens. These are lighter weight and have a bigger screen face than the ones use by SCF US. Local supervisors carry the silk screens to different classes where hundreds of titles have been produced for exchange in 1/2 day writers workshops. These title are usually four pages in length, printed front and back of a single large page which is then folded.

Another interesting form of LGM conducted in Nepal involved the use of community video. WIF, a non-profit organization, received Danish funds to pilot an experimental LGM video project. This involved bringing video to rural villages, providing the village women with basic training, and supporting them to develop their own videos. The women were very active learners and creators, who developed videos on environmental conditions and community needs. These videos they decided to show to Members of Parliament and Ministry officials in Kathmandu. One impact of the screening of their videos was that they received immediate attention and support from government for the concerns as raised in the videos. Devendra Gauchon, the coordinator and video expert in the project, also spoke

of the empowerment and confidence boost to the women involved in producing the videos.

Save the Children (SCF) US has been the most influential and leading advocate of LGM in Nepal. It is due primarily to SCF US and their technical expertise, experimentation and support to local NGOs, that LGM has gained its level of acceptance and degree of use in Nepal today. SCF coordinated and hosted the first LGM TOT and writers' workshop in April 1992. This was held in a project site in Gorkha with participants from 10 other NGOs. During this workshop, the first of its kind in Nepal, a Report on the TOT was developed and 100 copies printed. The TOT and the Report introduced the rationale of LGM as exchange, reflection and social change, and the concept and practice of the writing process. Among participants at the TOT, primary interest focussed on the use of LGM products with less interest in integrating LGM process into adult literacy classes. The Report also included examples of the participants writing, revised and edited during the TOT, as well as samples of adult literacy class participants collected in the evening from on-going classes as part of the training. One hundred copies of the Report were printed and shared with other organizations for their reference.

Table 1, which was presented during the TOT and included in the Report, was of considerable interest to participants. Considerable discussion was spent on this framework, followed by demonstrations and discussion of

practical activities and methods to increase the level of learner participation in post-literacy materials production.

Table 1

Levels of Learner Participation

* LEARNER ASSISTED	LEARNER DEVELOPED	LEARNER PRODUCED
1) Learners are observed	4) Learners write one draft on fixed topics	8) Learners illustrate, layout and/or format
2) Learners are interviewed	5) Learners choose own topics and write first drafts	9) Learners reproduce and distribute materials
3) Learner discussion and feedback influences materials	6) Learners revise and edit own materials	10) Learners assist in funding and project management
(*Only Learner Developed and Learner Produced are considered LGM)	7) Learners on editorial boards to select articles and approve CRC	(Meyers, 1991; SCF US, 1993)

Following this workshop, several initiatives were started by SCF US staff who had attended the workshop. In 1992, SCF US was working primarily in three Districts, with a decentralized system at the District level which allowed the sub-district 'area offices' to plan and implement programs. Immediately after the workshop in Gorkha, one 'area office' started to develop village-based LGM with advanced literacy classes using a portable 3 kg litho machine. These materials, written, developed, illustrated and printed by new literates a three-day walk from the nearest road, were exchanged between villages within the area and around the district. Some of the topics of the booklets, which cost roughly Rs. 1 to produce, were

"Growing Cardamon for Profit," "The Dangers of Smoking," and other collections of stories. Several copies of the litho LGM were also circulated among other local NGOs and in Kathmandu as a means of promoting interest in LGM. The press run for these texts was approximately 150 copies, and the texts range from 6 to 12 pages in length.

In March 1993, SCF US organized another writers workshop cum TOT. This was conducted in Gorkha at an SCF US area office a half day walk from the road. Five days in length, the first two days was for NFE trainers who represented seven different organizations. The remaining three days were an actual writers workshop with 20 new-literate women participating from six different villages, representing four organizations. During these three days, the women wrote and revised a collection of stories. Lithographs were made of several of the stories on the spot, so that participants would be able to take copies home with them. Later, the stories developed in this workshop were included in other SCF US publications, including Jamarko and Sangalo. In addition, a Trainer's Guide, consisting of notes, specific activities and rationale presented during the workshop was also prepared and printed for distribution to other organizations. As these publications were shared, and more NGOs became aware and interested in LGM, diverse activities started happening on their own under the initiative of local NGOs. In subsequent writers' workshops by other local NGOs,

including ACAP, BASE and NNSWA, SCF US provided technical support.

Since 1989, SCF US has also published a series of books on a yearly basis for new literates called "Jamarko." This series, now in its 6th volume, is used in advanced literacy classes by a number of NGOs in Nepal. From 1991, stories and letters contributed by new literates and literacy class graduates were included in Jamarko. By 1993, the entire book was composed of learner generated stories and letters, with follow up exercises and writing practice developed by SCF US staff. Another interesting feature of Jamarko were the last 4-6 pages of the book, which were made up of photos sent by literacy class graduates looking for pen pals. Under each photo were short biographies, written by the learners about themselves, as well as their addresses. SCF US continues to produce new volumes of LGM texts, often composed of stories developed in writers' workshops conducted by other local NGOs.

Since 1994, SCF US has been experimenting with the Language Experience Approach (LEA) in its program sites in Siraha and Chitwan districts of the Terai. In this case of literacy classes with non-Nepali speaking learners, facilitators and learners have developed Maithali and Tharu language experience stories which have then used for follow up exercises and lessons. These activities have been introduced as a means of learning Devanagari script before starting the Naya Goreto, basic adult literacy course book

in Nepali. Facilitators have also been integrating real writing activities during the basic literacy course. After the second month of instruction, every Friday is set aside for "free writing" and writing practice in these classes.

Since 1993, SCF US has also been using portable litho graph machines directly with literacy classes, organizing day long writers workshops which produce several stories. These stories are then printed on the litho graph as individual books between 6-12 pages in length. These texts are taken by the authors to their homes and are also distributed to other classes in the area by SCF US staff. Writers workshops involving participants from several neighboring literacy classes have also been organized, with the LGM texts produced distributed by the area office to other classes and readers. In Nuwakot and Gorkha districts, the use of litho-graphed LGM texts is being combined with social marketing, so that villagers will need to purchase these materials in the near future. In these districts, a more systematic approach to community publishing and exchange of LGM products is being piloted, with copies of texts being sold in project areas at a small cost.

The Ministry of Education has also supported LGM methods in two ways. In the first, Class Five children are used to carry out household surveys of school catchment areas. The children, who are oriented by their teacher and headmaster, go door to door in pairs to collect information on the number of children going to school and out of

school. This information is then tabulated by the class and shared with the community in a mass meeting. This activity, called School Catchment Area Mapping, is supported in a small scale in 25 districts in 1995. Another activity involves the use of writers' workshops, first with children's NFE class facilitators and Class Three teachers to develop texts for children on the Convention in the Rights of the Child. This will be followed by writers' workshops with children themselves to develop similar materials. This activity is only being piloted in late 1995 with support from UNICEF.

In 1995, a number of additional INGOs began producing LGM texts for circulation. SCF Japan produced an LGM text called Jyoti, written in Nepali, as well as Sochan, written in the Maithali language using Devanagari script. In addition, Oxfam began producing an LGM newsletter among Bhutanese refugees in 1995 and Care Nepal also developed its first LGM texts for use in adult NFE programs in 1995. Please see the Appendix for details on the LGM titles in Nepal listed by organization and year, with the number of copies printed to date.

C H A P T E R V

ANNAPURNA CONSERVATION AREA PROJECT CASE STUDY

A. Introduction

The King Mahendra Trust for Nature Conservation (KMTNC) was established in 1982 as a non-profit, non-government organization under direct patronage of His Majesty, King Birendra. His Royal Highness, Prince Gyanendra, is the Chairman of KMTNC and oversees the Members of the Governing Board of Trustees as well as the KMT Committees in Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States and other countries. The KMTNC was established for "the purpose of conserving, preserving and managing Nepal's nature and natural resources in order to improve the quality of life of the human population" (ACAP, 1993; KMTNC, 1992). KMTNC's two major activities are the Nepal Conservation Research and Training Centre, which focuses on research, technical training and rhino translocation in the Terai, and the Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP).

The Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA) is a protected area which covers approximately 7600 sq. km. and is spread over parts of five districts in Western Nepal (Kaski, Lamjung, Myagdi, Manang and Mustang). As a protected Area, human population still resides within ACA. The concept of multiple land use conservation lies at the heart of ACAP and allows for indigenous communities to practice conservation in their daily lives. The Area surrounds the

Annapurna Mountain Range, with mountains over 8,000 metres and some of the deepest valleys on earth. The Area is also famous for the vast variety of flora and fauna and boasts of over 100 orchid varieties, 441 species of avifauna and some the last wild snow leopards and blue sheep (ACAP, 1991). As a result of this beauty, the Area is world famous among tourists and trekkers, whose seasonal impact on environment, culture and economics are considerable. In 1989 alone, it was estimated that some 38,000 foreign tourists visited the Annapurna Conservation Area (1990, ACAP) while in 1994, the figure was some 45,000 (Nepal Ministry of Tourism, 1995)

ACAP was initiated in 1986 with the following long term objectives: "i) to conserve the natural resources of ACA; ii) to bring sustainable social and economic development to the local people; and iii) to develop tourism in such a way that it will have minimum negative environmental impact" (ACAP, 1990) The concept of 'conservation for development' was the guiding principle in developing the Operational Plan in 1985, and the approach and activities in ACAP highlight the relation between community development and sustainable conservation (ACAP, 1985). Primary funding for ACAP is provided by the World Wildlife Fund and the UK Committee of KMTNC.

> ACAP is a new concept in protected areas management . . . to combine environmental protection with sustainable community development. Traditional subsistence activities are woven into a framework of sound resource management, supplemented by small scale

> conservation and alternative energy projects to minimize to impact of tourists and upgrade the local standard of living. Recognizing that environmental and social problems are inseparable, ACAP strives to strengthen the cultural integrity of the area as well. (ACAP, 1993)

The environmental degradation through deforestation, landslides, pollution and over-use has had a major impact on the Annapurna area over the past 20 years. It has been estimated that the forest cover in the area is depleted at a rate of 3% annually, with firewood the source of 96% of the energy requirements. Compared to 30 years ago, when collecting firewood required an hours work, today the chore takes an entire day. No longer self-sufficient in food, villages in the Area now import 60% of food stuffs from outside. Many streams are now polluted and polyethylene bags and empty mineral water bottles litter the trail sides and villages. Wildlife has also been driven back to more remote regions with a decrease in their numbers (ACAP Tourist Information, 1994).

The three main program components under ACAP are: nature conservation; human development; and tourism. Nature conservation includes such activities as forest and wildlife regulation and protection; replantation of community lands; and nursery management with peoples' participation. Human development includes income generation; women's development; basic education; and in some instances, the direct provision of basic needs. One of ACAP's tenets is that basic human needs cannot be separated

from real and sustainable conservation. Tourism has had tremendous impact on the Area, both in terms of economic gains and social and natural losses. Starting in 1986, 100% of the Entry Fees to the Annapurna Conservation Area, which are collected from tourists by the Ministry of Tourism along with Trekking Fees, are channelled directly to ACAP. ACAP's tourist education and awareness programs, including permanent exhibits in Pokhara and Ghandruk, have had tangible effects on raising awareness and reducing the environmental impact of tourists in the Area.

Owing to the great size and remoteness of much of the Area, ACAP has been phased in. Pilot Project Activities started in 1987 and covered only the Ghandruk panchayat in Kaski District. This area, in the southern Area, was chosen as it had suffered extreme environmental pressure in the past 20 years from new settlements and high tourism. It was also small enough for experimentation with and analysis of various strategies, activities and management. In 1990, ACAP expanded to the Stage 1 Area, covering 15 VDCs in the southern parts of the Area inhabited by over 20,000 subsistence farmers. In 1993, ACAP was officially expanded to cover the entire ACA, including the remote semi-autonomous kingdom of Upper Mustang, although it has yet to become fully operational in all places. The LGM activities reported on in this case study, which took place over a two year period of 1993-1995, are focussed in the Sub-Regional Offices in the south, Ghandruk, Sikles and Lwang.

By 1994, ACAP had expanded to the entire Annapurna Conservation Area, covering 7,600 Km sq, 59 VDCs and 120,000 people. There were five Regional Office, Ghandruk, Sikles, Bhujung, Managa and Jomsom, and two Sub-Regional offices in Lwang and Lo-Manthang in upper Mustang. In 1994/95, 26 basic literacy classes were offered and a total of 18 advanced classes.

B. Social Overview

From ethnic and socio-cultural standpoints, ACA has great diversity. In the northeast are the Manange people, fiercely independent traders closely related to Tibetans, while in the northern and northwestern parts are Mustangies, another distinct ethnic group. In the western valleys one finds Thakalis, a small, distinct ethnic group comprised of merchants and traders. In the south, where the case studies are located, the majority of the population is Gurung, a Tibeto-Burman group, with smaller populations of Bahun (Brahmins), Chettris and scheduled castes (blacksmiths, tailors and leather workers). Of the 228,000 Gurung language native speakers nationally, over 70% of them are found in the 5 Districts which make up the Conservation Area. The Gurung population in Nepal not speaking Gurung mother tongue may number another 200,000 - 300,000 (Population Census, 1991). In our site areas, approximately 75% of the population in Lwang is Gurung, 18% Bahun/Chettri and 7% scheduled castes, while in Ghandruk,

which is a hillier, the ratio is 85%, 10% and 5%. (ACAP, 1990; CBS, 1993).

The Gurung homeland traditionally rested in the high valleys and hills in altitudes ranging from 4,000 - 9,000 feet, on the southern slopes of the Annapurna and Himal Chuli mountains. In this rectangular swathe, running 140 km east-west and 40 km wide, the Gurung have managed to maintain their existence and much of their cultural identity. Linguistic roots of the Gurung are traced to the Central Himalayish stock of the Sino-Tibetan, Bodic Division (Glover, 1974; Regmi, 1990; Shafer, 1955). There is no Gurung script or written tradition. Gurung priests were of the oral tradition, with later lamas learning Tibetan script in the monasteries of Manang and Tibet (Macfarlane, 1992; Regmi, 1990).

While there are no castes in the Gurung culture, there is a clan system, with two hierarchical strata, or sub-tribes called the Char Jat or 'four clans,' and the Sora Jat or 'sixteen clans.' These two clans are endogamous, with the Char Jats maintaining relative ascendancy over the Sora Jats (Messerschmidt, 1976; Regmi, 1990). There is some research showing that several Sar Jat Clans originally engaged in `defiling forms of manual labor' as an occupation, which were taken over by scheduled castes with the influx of Hindu settlers (Messerschmidt, 1972). While there is class distinction, and until recently, strict endogamy, these social barriers do not exclude intimate

relations and between families Sora and Char Jats, who eat, work and socialize together (Macfarlane, 1976; Messerschmidt, 1976; Pignede, 1993).

Bahuns began their migration into the Himalayan hills in the 1500's, part of a mass migration away from the invading Mughlai armies sweeping down from Afghanistan at that time. The majority of these settlers were farmers who settled on and farmed the richer valley lands. They had little contact with the Gurungs, who lived in the hill summits. Following the Bahuns/Chettris into the Himalayan foothills were the scheduled castes; tailors, leather workers, metal workers and cleaners. It was also in the mid-1500's that the Gurung Kingdom, previously ruled by the Ghale Kings of the Sora Jat, was defeated and overthrown and Dravya Shah of Gorkha, a forefather of Narayan Shah who later unified the country (Sever, 1992). By the 1800's both Gurung and Bahun villages both had smaller settlements of scheduled castes nearby to perform the defiling functions and dirty work. In another example of Gurungs adopting Bahun habits, Macfarlane mentions Ghale Gurungs in the 1960's who performed a ritual cleansing with water and gold after physical contact with a scheduled castes, a practice usually restricted to Brahmins (Bista, 1985; Macfarlane, 1976; Regmi, 1990).

In daily life the three groups continue to avoid socialization, maintaining and reinforcing social stratification. Lower castes are restricted from entering

Bahun/Chettri or Gurung households. Gurungs are not allowed to enter Bahun kitchens, although they can be served food and water by Bahuns on the porch (Bista, 1985; Macfarlane, 1992; Messerschmidt, 1972) (Field Note #2). Education and `modernization'have also had profound effects on the traditional social order and caste. Advances have been made in the enrolment of untouchable caste children, such as the Damai and Kami in schools, which have played a large role in breaking down inter-caste barriers. An interesting anecdote comes from Sikles. During the first year of the adult literacy courses, one class was held in a Gurung home. The Damai and Kami untouchable participants were not allowed to enter the house, but were allowed to study from the doorway and windows. By the second year, however, the advanced literacy class was held in the same house and everyone was allowed to study inside together without caste distinctions (Field Note #1).

Another aspect of their social structure which distinguishes Gurungs from other ethnic groups in Nepal is the status of women. As in other highland Tibeto-Burman areas, Gurung women may own and inherit land, sell crops, run shops and be considered equal to men in many social roles and exchanges (Messerschmidt, 1976; Pignede, 1993). The female literacy rates for the five Districts in the traditional Gurung homeland. According to the 1991 census, was approximately 37 per cent. While this figure includes all castes, it was well above the national female literacy

rate, which was estimated at 25 per cent (CBS, 1991). Gurung women are not segregated or considered `impure' during menstruation or childbirth and their bodies are not considered dangerous or polluting (Bista, 1985; Macfarlane, 1992). While there is division of labor along gender lines, with only men ploughing, becoming priests or carrying salt, the relationship between sexes is not as hierarchical as in Indo-Aryan based societies (Pignede, 1993). As Macfarlane states in his ethnography, "Talking with both Gurung men and women, they regard the sexes as equal, and if anything, argue that women, who hold the purse-strings and guide the family and village society, are the more powerful." (1992, p. 27). This is one reason why the formation of local mothers' groups has been so important to ACAP.

The rhodi was the communal heart of Gurung society, in which age group children of both sexes and jats were communally raised. This system was supported by tremendous communal obligations and responsibilities in terms of local resources, time and attention. Religious festivals, age ceremonies and field work were all inter-related with the ethos of communalism, in which all families in a village were responsible for various aspects related to raising the children in the village. Rhodi-ghars also involved close contact between adolescent boys and girls, sometimes with all night work parties and celebrations, which is quite contrary to Hindu social norms. As a practice, the rhodigar communal child raising practice has all but disappeared

except in a few very remote villages. Many other forms of these communal concepts and reciprocal work parties and child rearing practices are still commonly found in Gurung communities today and have been integrated with ACAP activities through the formation of various local committees (Andors, 1974; Macfarlane, 1992; Messerschmidt, 1976; Pignede, 1993).

In order to meet some of the women who had participated in the advanced literacy, and to better understand the context in which Samrakchan was developed, I visited both Lwang and Ghandruk. The first visit, to Lwang, was in June of 1994, during monsoon time when the women were busy with their field work. With the help of staff, I was able to interview two authors and three readers of the LGM texts. In the case of Ghandruk, the walk was one of 5 hours, which I made in November 1994 and again in August 1995. In Ghandruk, I was able to work with Jagan, who is from Ghandruk and who had attended the SCF US writers workshop in Gorkha in 1994. Ghandruk is on a main trekking route and I was surprised at the number of tourists I met on the trail. In Ghandruk, the amah samittee runs a Day Care Centre which has 28 children made up of Gurung, Bahun and scheduled castes. In the visits to Lwang and Ghandruk, I was able to meet with a total of 7 authors and some 16 readers of the LGM who had completed the advanced classes.

In both Ghandruk and Lwang, the women were remarkably busy. The daily routine involved rising at daybreak to

sweep the kitchen and yard and then to prepare the fire for tea. Without an improved cook stove, fetching wood, which is a 5-6 hour job, must take place every 2-3 days. With improved stoves, one day of collecting wood can provide five days of firewood for cooking. Collecting fodder for animals also takes considerable time and what is collected can only last for two days. Water is usually close at hand and not time consuming to fetch, but washing clothes, cooking, and cleaning, along with the above chores, all fall on the shoulders of women and girls. If the field is far, the family will eat early (8:00) then go to field for the day. If field is near, they will take a small snack and go to the field earlier, returning at 10:00-11:00 for the main meal. Women were rarely idle, and even while talking with me, there hands would be active husking beans or spinning and most women knit, weave and spin in their `free'time. In my last visit, during corn harvest, women's and girls' hands were always busy at the weaving of corn leaves into mats. In both villages, none of the women I interviewed had ever attended formal school.

C. ACAP in Ghandruk and Lwang

As mentioned, the Pilot Phase of ACAP was started in December 1987. The ACAP Headquarters was established in Ghandruk village, which was also the name of the panchayat with a population of 5,000 and made up of some 35 smaller villages. Ghandruk, now the name of the VDC and the VDC

Headquarters, is the largest village in the VDC with a collection of over 100 households, 90% Gurung, and a population of just less than 1,000 people. As in most Gurung villages, large families are common and extended families live together under the same roof. The houses are two stories and made of stone, with slate roofs supported by wooden struts. The main paths of the village are also tiled with slate slabs, with water running alongside and sometimes under the paths. Built into the hill, Ghandruk's houses are terraced and the paths are often stone staircases. There is a sense of order to the village and each house, with its open front court, wide porch and large main dining and cooking room, can easily accommodate guests and visitors. Ghandruk lies on a main tourist trekking path and is now less than five hours from the nearest road.

When Stage 1 started in 1990 and expanded to 15 VDCs, Ghandruk became the Field Headquarters for three sectors with Regional Offices in Ghandruk and Sikles, and a Sub-Regional Office in Lwang. By 1992, each sector was responsible for 4-6 VDCs, with VDC populations between 1,000 - 2,000 and of a size which require 1-2 days to walk completely around. These sectoral offices have continued to expand their VDC coverage, while additional sector offices have been opened. There are no roads and all travel is by foot, with mules sometimes used to carry loads. By 1994, the number of ACAP staff at each of the sub-regional offices was between 22-35, made up of Agro-foresters;

conservation educators; women development assistants; community development overseer; administrative assistants; accountants; and lower level technical helpers. The majority of staff were hired locally (ACAP, 1993).

A successful strategy piloted in Phase One was to establish Conservation and Development Committees (CDC). These ward based committees consisted of 9-11 members, depending on the population, who were selected in general meetings of villagers. The members represented various groups in the village, with mandated female and lower castes membership. The Ward Chairman is also a member. Later, these ward based Committees, which met on a monthly basis, were renamed sub-CDCs. CDCs are now formed at the VDC level, with membership from each of the nine ward-based sub-CDCs and with seats reserved for women and scheduled caste members as selected by ACAP. The CDC, comprised of 15 members, provides a crucial link between local government line staff, locally elected officials, community members and ACAP.

The CDC meets on a monthly basis to review the issues from the monthly sub-CDC meetings and to review the status of activities. Depending on the nature of the CDC and the role of the VDC members, various policies and local legislation can be enacted. The CDC usually decides on forestry and community matters and coordinates various activities between village based groups. CDCs have also determined policies for the VDC to pass, such as rules on

protected zones, fuel wood use, plantation policies and fines for penalties. CDCs have also submitted proposals to ACAP for technical, financial or resource support as required.

Under the sub-CDCs are a variety of other groups and committees. The most popular of these is the "amah samittee" or mothers group. Under each sub-CDC, there may be many different amah's groups, made up of women as well as men, and which are active in many community development programs and initiatives. By the end of 1991, there were over 40 women's groups established in the Stage 1 Area. Activities are initiated and planned based on the expressed needs and interests of members. Examples of the activities of mothers' groups in 1991 include: raising funds to build a school and pay teachers salaries; mending trails damaged by monsoons; banning alcohol and gambling in the village; tree plantation; and purchasing community utensils (ACAP, 1992). In the case of the CDC and the Electric Committee, a 60 kilo-watt, micro-hydro system was constructed in Ghandruk in 1992. Over time, the needs and demands of villagers change, and different committees are formed or become more active. Besides amah samittees, in Ghandruk VDC in 1994, the following committees were actively functioning under the auspices of the sub-CDCs and CDC: lodge, electric, community health care, women development, mothers, child care center, forestry and youth activities committees, with a variety of on-going activities under

each of these committees. These committees function as working groups, similar to the traditional patterns of labor exchange practiced in Gurung communities (ACAP, 1992).

The Lwang office was established in 1990 with three staff. Lwang VDC is generally more accessible than Ghandruk, with fewer hills, more farms and more Bahun/Chettri villages. The Lwang Sub-Regional Office is located in Lwang village, the largest village in the VDC with some 70 households and over 450 people. The Lwang Sub-Regional Office is now responsible for 6 VDCs with a combined population of 7,000. Lwang is a Gurung village, with smaller Bahun and lower caste villages only a few minutes walk away. The VDCs making up the Lwang sector consist of many small settlements and clusters of households whose populations occasionally reach over 250. While richer agriculturally than Ghandruk, Lwang is not on any trekking route, depriving it of the economic benefits of tourism. The Mardi River also cuts directly through the VDC, making much land uncultivable, flood erosion a danger during monsoons and access to parts of the VDC difficult.

In the early period after establishing the sector office in Lwang, mobile extension was the strategy used to enter new villages. In this approach, piloted in Ghandruk, the entire Lwang staff, including agro-foresters and women's workers visiting from Ghandruk, would go to a village and as a group, they would interact with the

community people: sometimes with drama, dance and song, at other times by cleaning and picking up around the village, and at other times just by talking and informal group discussion. After several such mobile extensions to a village, a mothers' group might be established or some other committee formed based on village interest. In a radial effect out from Lwang, villages were soon waiting to form committees and join ACAP.

A popular first activity for new mothers' groups in the Lwang sector was to fix a trail. The women went door to door to gather and organize for this. The exercise is really a heavy, manual effort which takes several weeks to complete but in which the whole community can share the labor and the benefits. Costs related to building the trail or to other first activities were supported by money raised locally. This was often done through traditional cultural dances, which result in offerings and rewards be given to the performers. These events are often carried out as a fund raising activity by mothers' groups. In Amatole, a village in Lwang VDC, the first amah samittee which was formed still cleans the entire village on the 1st and 15th of each month and has also carried out re-plantation of community lands.

Mobile extension helped ACAP to establish rapport and credibility as well as to form mothers' groups and local committees. Based upon their experiences from Ghandruk, the Lwang Office decided to start with kitchen gardens as

its main "agro-forestry" project. This activity addressed a felt need of the women, provided mothers' groups and other committees with an immediate return and was simple to start. After the first year in Lwang, a demonstration plot, with seedlings, saplings and a training system, was established at the Lwang office with the addition of staff. The saplings and seedlings were sold at a minimal subsidized cost to various committees and groups, and the demonstration plot helped to raise interest and awareness (ACAP, 1992). A system of support to establish private nurseries provided technical support and initial resources, such as seeds, saplings and materials, to interested committees. ACAP also helped to find buyers for the seeds and saplings produced. A system of conservation farmers (CFs) was also initiated, in which the community itself selects one person to become the CF. This person receives training, technical and resource support and free initial seeds from ACAP and is then able to supply seeds and saplings within the village and to sell to outside markets. In 1994, there were a total 22 active CFs in the Lwang area (ACAP, 1993; Field Note #2).

With the expansion of VDCs and village committees, demand from village committees has broadened to include a wide variety of technical and resource support, from bridge construction and micro-hydro to income generation and health post support. These activities were based on the demands and felt needs of the community, who were usually

required to generate resources and provide labor in matching arrangements for ACAP technical and financial support. With its focus on conservation development, non-formal literacy classes were not identified by ACAP as a priority or as directly relevant to ACAP's mission. After a few years, however, an increasing demand from women in the villages prompted ACAP to consider piloting NFE classes. In September 1990, after serious discussion within ACAP, two adult literacy programs were first implemented in Ghandruk as part of the conservation education program. One month later, four more classes were started in Lwang and Sikles as part of the trial. The classes in Ghandruk used MOEC's Naya Goreto package of materials, while in Lwang and Sikles, ACAP used a literacy package developed by SPACE, a local NGO based in Kathmandu.

For 1991/92, ACAP increased the number of classes to 17, (10 in Ghandruk, 4 in Lwang and 3 in Sikles), all using the SPACE materials. The main reason for choosing the SPACE materials were that they were shorter than Naya Goreto and more adaptable to the ACAP context. SPACE materials followed a more open curriculum and approach, using whole language and LEA methods. In addition, there was high drop out in both classes; 40% in Ghandruk and 30% in Lwang. This was due to a combination of lack of technical experience on the side of ACAP as will as the fact that the Naya Goreto course was delayed so that its completion was interrupted by harvest. To counteract drop-out, ACAP also established a

policy in 1991 which required NFE participants to pay a deposit in order to enrol in the class. This money could be refunded if the course was completed and deposited into the mother's group fund in case of drop-out. In 1991, a few post-literacy classes, using the SCF US Kosalee package were also piloted.

In 1992/93, ACAP expanded to implement 25 basic as well as 11 post literacy classes. For the basic program, ACAP changed back to the Naya Goreto package. This was done as the training was easier to manage and coordinate with the District Education Office. No other agency in the Region was using SPACE materials at that time. In addition, while the SPACE materials were good in Nepali written language, they were felt to be very poor in math and the 1990 graduates from Lwang had struggled with the math exercises in Kosalee during the post-literacy course. For these reasons, ACAP switched back to Naya Goreto. In 1993, the LGM writers workshop was held in order to develop additional post-literacy materials for use with Kosalee in the advanced classes.

D. Development of LGM in ACAP

As early as 1991, ACAP was considering advanced literacy classes and non-formal programs. In May 1992, two women graduates of ACAP basic literacy classes, Dan Kumari Gurung and Bimala Gurung, walked two days to join the writers workshop in Gorkha, organized by SCF US. The

following year, Jagan Gurung, a Women Development Assistant from Ghandruk's, participated in a LGM TOT, also sponsored by SCF US Dibya Gurung, in an interview in September 1993, describes how she first heard about LGM:

> Other (post-literacy) packages were good, but something was lacking. It (Kosalee) was good, but very general - we needed something area specific if we were really going to hit the target groups. There were not any post-literacy materials for us. Our main objectives in ACAP are conservation of the natural resources and the cultural heritage of that place. When I heard about LGM from Udaya, it was already in my mind (Field Note #1, p. 8).

To get financial resources for the LGM project, Dibya used the rationale that by developing materials in the particular context and of the ACAP area, using the language used and spoken their, it would be easier for the target group to grasp and understand the messages. In this respect, the readers and participants in advanced literacy classes would feel at home with the package itself and would be comfortable reading and following it. The main objective of NFE in ACAP is to reinforce the messages of conservation and to promote community development. LGM gave the possibility of producing materials on relevant messages, using accessible language, which would lead the readers to action. In her report on the LGM pilot, Dibya wrote that she was "excited to follow up the LGM with action and to experiment with what LGM can do to mobilize people to do something active" (1994, p. 2).

The proposal outline to hold an LGM workshop in order to develop post-literacy materials was submitted in October

1992 to Dr. Chandra Gurung, the ACAP Director. Dr. Gurung approved the LGM proposal and in an interview in 1994, described the rationale for LGM in the following terms:

> . . . in the context of production - to sustain activities already developed in conservation and to bring the local people into the mainstream. People must be the custodians of their own resources, including intellectual. . . More awareness for the people is needed at the initial stage, the existing phase, and education is the backbone. (Field Note #1, p. 2)

In this perspective, LGM was also perceived as part of a larger process of bringing previously marginalized groups of the Annapurna Area into the mainstream, where decisions are made and where their voices could be heard.

In May 1993, a five-day "LGM Writers Workshop" was conducted in Lwang. The lead trainers for the workshop were Udaya Manandhar of SCF US, Jagan Gurung from the ACAP Ghandruk Office and Dibya Gurung from Lwang. The workshop was divided into two parts. The first two days were for staff, including seven ACAP staff, five literacy facilitators, two SCF US staff and one artist. This provided an overview of LGM, an introduction to the writing process and some experimentation with writing activities and sharing. Conservation education was the theme of the writers workshop and it was fully intended for a book to be developed for use in the advanced literacy classes. In one activity during the first two days, potential topics and issues which the ACAP staff thought should be included in the final product were brainstormed and listed (D. Gurung 1994; Field Note #2).

The remaining three days were held as a writers workshop with 12 women graduates of the basic literacy class and five facilitators invited as participants. These women graduates were made up of Gurung and Bahun participants who came from both Lwang and Ghandruk. Not all the women were good writers, and one or two could hardly write at all, but all the women actively participated in the exercises, discussions, group work and sharing sessions, contributing to the stories which were included the actual book. The objective of the package was clearly stated in the proposal from Dibya to the ACAP head office: "to bring about conservation awareness among the participants (readers) and mobilize them to bring into action the solution they have identified for the problems." (D. Gurung, 1994). More specifically, the text was developed with four main purposes: to impart knowledge/awareness about conservation issues, to help readers to identify local problems related to the issues, to encourage them to find solutions for the problems and to motivate them to take action locally as their solutions suggest (Field Note #2).

The first day of the full writers workshop started with introductions and participant expectations. As part of the expectation exercise, participants were asked what topics they thought they should write about in a book about conservation development. To the facilitators' delight, the participants brainstormed nearly the entire list which they

had prepared the day before, including some new topics. The chapters in the final book are made up of a combination of topics and ideas from both lists. This was followed by a general discussion about writing and the process which writers usually follow when writing. The concept of the `writing process' was introduced with direct references made to the cycle of organizing ideas, drafting, revising (sharing), and editing. The goal of making a book was also made clear to the participants, and it was explained that the writing process would be followed over the next three days of the workshop to make the book. Before lunch, a quick writing game was played which involved pairs passing written questions and answers back and forth.

In the afternoon, illustrations and posters from the adult literacy class were used to prompt writing. Participants were asked to work alone and write stories based on the illustrations or from the perspective of the people in the drawings. In pairs, participants shared their writings with the purpose of offering feedback and comments. For homework, participants were asked to rewrite their stories for the next morning. The next two days were filled with role plays, group writing, problem trees and group dictations (LEA). Both Jagan and Dibya stressed the importance of the artist and the role of illustrations in helping the women give life to their writing. In the interview in 1993, Dibya described the problem tree activity: "They (participants) were in groups. We chose a

topic and they had to come up with 10 benefits or advantages and 10 disadvantages, and there was a time limit. The leaders of the groups had to present - everyone had to be involved. They were quite excited and really involved in writing" (Field Note #1). After each round of the game, the whole group would select the best sentences and with some revision, edition and imagination, the sentences were turned into stories.

When asked what struck her the most during the writers workshop, Dibya responded with the following anecdote. In dividing into groups for one activity on the fourth day, the five facilitators formed one group while the literacy graduates were in other groups. "When it came time to share the writing, the graduates of the classes had difficulty in reading what the facilitator had written down - it (language) was very difficult and a little bit formal. They (the women) were more comfortable reading whatever their group had prepared instead of the facilitators - so you can imagine if the materials were made by someone even more removed or higher than the facilitator" (Field Note #1).

Another activity which the facilitators enjoyed involved asking the participants to write a topic for a story on a slip of paper. These slips were collected and put into a hat. Everyone them had to draw a slip out of the hat and write upon the topic. Jagan and Dibya also described the process of suggesting topics for the second homework assignment. While the participants weren't asked

to write about success stories, they were asked to write about projects they had done in their village. In this way, the facilitators hoped that the stories would take on a first hand, every day context. As Jagan stated in an interview in 1994,

> Some even wrote about problems in their villages as a lot of things came out. Depending on the area where the women come from, they chose a different subject. The women from Lwang wrote on compost and the ones from Ghandruk about income generating and tourism. It depended on their need and interest. Then, ACAP added the exercises. (Field Note #2)

After the workshop was finished, that the ACAP staff, with input from Udaya Manandhar of SCF US, chose the stories to be included in the final text and the structure and design of the book. Choosing the stories was easy as all the stories which had been re-written and revised during the workshop were included. Udaya and Dibya decided to make 10 chapters, one for each story, supported by illustrations and followed by exercises. Each story begins with the title, followed by the names of the authors and their villages. Dibya emphasized that the follow up exercises were developed with the intention of generating an action-research process among the readers, the participants in advanced literacy classes. After reading the story in class, it was hoped that readers would be able to reflect on their own situation in relation to the story and to make a plan for action. The final outcome is a 10-chapter, 31-page text, entitled "Samrakchan," which means

"Conservation" in Nepalese. The following are the titles of the 10 stories, which run from 70 to 180 words in length:

1. Tree Plantation
2. Improved Cook Stove
3. Fodder Tree
4. Family Planning
5. Soil
6. Tourism
7. Compost Fertilizer
8. Unusual Village
9. Khoki Pakha's Landslide
10. Water Cycle

In July 1995, again with funds from the conservation education program, ACAP conducted its second writers workshop. A total of 10 women from Ghandruk (seven Gurungs and three Kami untouchables), who had successfully completed the basic six month course were invited for the three-day workshop. As in the first writers workshop in 1993, a two day training of trainers for Women Development staff preceded the actual writers workshops. The rationale for this was that the methods used in the writers workshop were transferable to other projects and activities, not just for making books. The process of brainstorming, of generating free writing in groups and of getting sharing and exchange between community members on each others ideas were considered applicable outside literacy classes and writers workshops. These activities have already been used

by ACAP in community based monitoring and assessment of programs. For this reason, Women Development staff from each Sectoral office were invited to participate in the two day TOT and to stay for the three day writers workshop (Field Note #2).

When asked if the purpose of the second writers workshop was different than the first, Dibya responded that Samrakchan I had been designed strictly to reinforce conservation topics with post-literacy students. The purpose of the second workshop had broadened in terms of both the target group and the topics covered. In the second workshop, ACAP hoped to cover more topics which the authors themselves were interested in writing about. More free writing activities, where participants could write upon any topic, were planned. The final product was intended for use not only in the advanced literacy classes, but would be distributed to all graduates of basic literacy classes. Copies of the final published product were also to be shared with CDC members and professionals working with ACAP to raise their awareness by showing what women are learning and capable of doing.

The processes and activities followed in the second writers workshop also varied slightly from the first effort. The first activity the first day required the woman to write alone on any topic of their choice. As expected, there was some difficulty at first as the participants struggled to think of a topic and get started. After some

time, all the women were writing. Their finished stories were taped to wall and everyone moved in a circle to read each others story. The activity served as a writing ice-breaker and to get participants exposed to the idea of writing about free topics. Most had never experienced writing on topics of their own choice before. Dibya described her disappointment when some 80% of the participants chose to write on tree plantation. As a result, in the next activity, participants were asked to brainstorm possible topics which they could write upon over the next three days. A long list was generated, written on newsprint, and taped to the wall to served as a reference point for choosing topics over the next three days (Field Note 1).

After the first activity where participants were forced to write alone, activities were constructed more openly so that participants could write alone, in pairs or in small groups as they desired. The participants were better in writing skills than those in the first writers' workshop. As a result, more revision and editing could take place within small groups, with the whole group analysis or group exchange happening just one time per piece. In the first workshop, where the writing abilities were mixed and in some cases, quite low, much more time was spent with small groups exchanging and revising/editing each others work and in whole group presentation and feedback. Dibya mentioned that some stories from the second writers

workshop are quite long when compared to Samrakchan I, owing to the advanced level of participants and because stories which were started by one person were added to later by other participants (Field Note #2).

By the second day, several stories had been completed and typed up in the Ghandruk office. These typed drafts were combined with the rough sketches of the artist and provided participants with a general draft and layout of a chapter. This was extremely motivating according to Dibya and Jagan, who reported that the authors felt proud to see these draft chapters. Copies of Samrakchan I were also shared during the afternoon of the second day as an example of what the workshop's finished product would look like. This reportedly motivated the writers to work harder, and they revised and edited their work late into the night. At the end of the second day, as homework, the participants were asked to think about what they wanted to write about the next day. While not everyone came with ideas for topics, several groups were formed to develop stories based on these ideas which were included in the final product (Field Note #2).

The final book, called Samrakchan II, was completed in August 1995. It was 43 pages long with 14 chapters. The length of the LGM stories range from 80 to 400 words. In analyzing the space allocation of Samrakchan II, approximately 40 % of the book is LGM text, 45% follow-up exercises and 15% illustrations. The stories were self-

selected by the participants as all the stories which the authors had worked on seriously, rewriting more than two times, were included. The chapters of Samrakchan II are as follows:

1. Conservation Forest
2. Pressure Cooker
3. Hygiene
4. Toilets
5. Vaccination
6. Child Care
7. Drugs and Alcohol
8. Balanced Diet
9. Income Generation
10. Women's Groups
11. My Own Story
12. Untouchables
13. Culture
14. Village Riddles

In interviewing the authors regarding which activities they preferred during the writers' workshop, I spoke with five women, four Gurung and one Kami. All five authors stated that it was easiest to write about topics which they knew about, or were able to choose for themselves. Being assigned topics which one didn't know well was mentioned by several participants interviewed as the most difficult part of the workshop. Bishnu Kumari referred to getting a choice of two topics to write on. As she was able to choose the

one which she knew well, it made the writing easy. In describing her experience during the writers workshop, Purna Gurung mentioned,

> First I try to get a good idea for the story, Then it is easy to write. If I didn't know what to write about or what to say, then the group would help to think of topics for writing, . . . I was lucky to draw the Smokeless Stove story (out of the hat). I had just built a smokeless stove in my own home so it was easy to write about. (Field Note #2, p. 10)

The five Gurung authors interviewed all stated that they preferred to write in groups or with a partner than to write alone. All of them stated that writing alone was more difficult. Writing together made it easier if they had a question or if they didn't know a word and they stated feeling more comfortable and confident when they could write together. The two Kami (untouchable) authors, however, had a different opinion. Both Santi and Piari Bika stated that they preferred to write alone. Santi explained her preference:

> It was better to write alone. In a group, everyone has an idea. Everyone is giving and suggesting. In a group, my idea doesn't get into the story. I like writing alone. (Field Note #2)

The effect which caste status had on their participation and on being heard in their groups may be one reason why both Santi and Piari preferred writing alone.

The editing of the stories and the roles of participants, facilitators, and editors changed only slightly in the two writers' workshops. In both workshops, the rationale for editing process was guided by the belief

that the materials belonged to the participants. Their words, using slang and non-standard syntax, should not be a barrier to reading or writing as the readers come from the same area and understand the meaning. As a result, most editing and the finalization of the stories took place during the workshop itself (Field Note #1). In the first workshop, small groups exchanged their writing for feedback and revision before sharing with the whole group, on newsprint, for editing. The final versions, as determined by the authors and their peers, were then copied onto notebook paper by the participants and taken to Kathmandu for typing and publication.

As much as possible, the original text was used in the final version. Spelling errors, syntax and grammar were not corrected by ACAP or SCF US editors unless the meaning itself was unclear. In two instances, the order of the sentences was re-arranged in order to give more coherence to the story. Handwriting was replaced by 20 point Devanagari type and some additional art work was added. The follow up questions and exercises to each story were developed by Dibya and Udaya just after the workshop and were finalized later in Kathmandu. The exercises were designed specifically with the action research cycle in mind and in hopes of getting readers to take collective, planned action based on the reading (Field Note #1; Field Note #2).

In analyzing the linguistic aspects of Samrakchan, one must realize that after reading only a few lines of the text, Kathmandu-educated Nepalese invariably ask who wrote the story, remarking on its non-standard style. It is obvious to the reader that this book is different and the language non-standard. In an analysis carried out by Sailendra Thakali, there are several reasons for this. First are the vocabulary and expressions. The stories are full of local terms and reflect the natural spoken language of the Annapurna area. For example, where in Kathmandu publications the term "nango danda" (naked hill) is used to refer to deforestation, in "Samrakchan, the authors only use "paako danda" (wasteland hill) or "kali danda" (empty hill) when referring to deforestation. There are similar examples of colloquialisms and village expressions throughout the book.

There are relatively few Sanskrit-based vocabularies found in Samrakchan. What Sanskritized Nepali is present is limited to the more technical chapters, such as Family Planning and Health Workers. These Sanskrit terms are also found in the Naya Goreto and Kosalee course books and are commonly understood by literacy class graduates. As Bishnu Gurung mentioned, when describing how she wrote her first drafts, "I write in my local Nepali. I know this and it is easy to write." By the later drafts, however, the Annapurnese dialect tag ending (-ahh) which was originally spelt by authors the way they were pronounced,

had been rewritten. Dibya remarked that this was most probably the result of the `better'handwriters, who were chosen to transcribe the final drafts, corrected the spelling of many of these words, putting them into standard Nepali.

Another reason why Samrakchan I is obviously not Kathmandu produced is the grammar and syntax. Throughout both volumes of Samrakchan, the grammar and syntax are non-standard or "incorrect." There are numerous instances of tense shifts within sentences, mistakes using gender affixes, first to third person shift over the course of a story and clumsy syntax. For example, in Tree Plantation, the authors refer to planting trees in the future to bring fewer landslides in the past. The meaning in these cases, however, is still clear to the reader. In addition, the sentence structure is very simple throughout the text. There are relatively few complex sentences and little attention to style or varied sentence patterns (Field Note #7).

One of the most interesting distinctions in the linguistic analysis was the stylistic logic which the stories followed. The stories are made up of short sentences which usually contain a main idea with a supporting reason. Readers are led on a narrow explanation of a conservation idea, with a series of reasons why it is a good idea. In Samrakchan I and II, each sentence explains one idea along with a reason for the idea, with simple

logic leading from sentence to sentence, idea to idea. For example, again from the Tree Plantation chapter, Bishnu Duwadi and Buddhi Gurung write:

> If afforestation is carried out, we will have rain. . . . If we have a forest near at hand, access to fuel and fodder is easier. This in turn will give us time to look after our children . . . With tree plantation, our cattle will also be well fed and healthy. With well fed cows, we can get more milk.

This progression of simple logic is not followed by professional materials developers. In Kathmandu, the texts produced for new literates by experts usually present one idea per paragraph, along with supporting rationale. In this respect, post-literacy materials follow the standard, essay based format which dominates the academia and the formal school system. The style of writing on Samrakchan is considered boring by Kathmandu standards. In describing the style of writing in Samrakchan, Sailendra Thakali spoke:

> It is as if there has to be a reason for them to write a sentence. The most common sentence structure in the stories involves a 'if we do this, then we will get that' type of structure and logic. Strung together, these sentences provide a simple text which seems to try and convince the reader of something. (Field Note #7)

This approach to structuring a text is original and may be part of the popularity of Samrakchan among readers in the Annapurna Area.

E. Use of "Samrakchan"

By September 1993, Samrakchan I had been finalized and 1,000 copies printed, along with a facilitator's guide.

Samrakchan I is black ink on newsprint, 11" x 8.5", with a color cover showing a photo of a girl carrying a heavy load of fuel wood on her back. Samrakchan I was distributed to the advanced literacy classes, which began in December 1993. In total, there were 18 advanced classes in 1993/94, with 70 participants in Ghandruk, 135 participants in Lwang, and 141 participants in Sikles. The main text for the advanced classes was Kosalee, developed by SCF US, and it was planned for use five days a week. Samrakchan was originally intended for use one day a week during the six month advanced course (ACAP, 1993).

The story "Tree Plantation," mentioned above, describes the why and how of tree plantations from the personal experiences of the authors. In the follow-up exercise, readers are asked to write five of their own problems related to deforestation. After this, they are asked to list the types of saplings planted in their village in the past two years. The final question asks readers, in groups, to decide potential sites, seasons, species, numbers, source of saplings and technical support required if they were to plant saplings. Space is left for readers to write answers after each of these questions. Similar exercises are developed for each chapter. In her story "Improved Cook Stoves," Purna Gurung of Ghandruk village first describes her old traditional stove, and then the new stove she has been using. In her conclusion, she writes:

> Since there is no smoke in the kitchen, it does not irritate the eyes and throat, thus making it easy to work. Especially since less fuel wood is consumed, one can save money that is used to buy the wood. . . Carrying out afforestation programs are not enough, we should be aware of the fact that we have to conserve it as well. (D. Gurung, 1994)

I met with Purna in Ghandruk after the book had been published and used in the advanced classes and asked how other women and men of the village treated her since the book was published. She responded that

> . . . 17-18 people in the village have read my story. They ask me when I wrote it and how I wrote it. I feel very happy when people ask me about the story. Now that I have written this story, I am more popular.

Purna went on to say that she would be happy to write and publish more stories, in particular about "about knitting, weaving and women's work . . . because we can take advantage and money from our work." When asked of she felt that the printed, typeset version of "Improved Cook Stove" was really her story, Purna answered, "Yes, this is really my story. This is my kitchen that I wrote about and it is my experience that is in the story."

In the story called "Unusual Village," Buddhi and Dhankumari Gurung of Lwang Village, describe a village where, "in order to fetch one pot of water it takes almost 3-4 hours." Because of their own negligence, landslides, deforestation and poor crops are all problems facing this village without water. In fact, "due to lack of water, two women are fighting (at the tap) while others are watching. By passers are also dazed." The story concludes with a few

suggestions on how the village could help itself. The follow up exercise has three questions with room for participants to write their answers: i) what are three reasons for main streams drying up, ii) what are three things your own village has done to prevent the main stream from drying up, and iii) if there is a non-functioning tap in your village, give reasons which led to that condition.

When asked, just after seeing her story in Samrakchan II for the first time, what was the best thing about being published, Santi Bika, interviewed in the untouchable village, had this to say,

> I feel very good, so many people will read my story. I am happy that other women can learn from my story. People may look different at me now I'm a writer. Maybe it is good for Kami, but I don't know. (Field Note #2).

In Lwang, I was present when Buddhi Gurung saw her story in Samrakchan for the first time. In her reaction, she could only say "I'm thrilled, so excited, I can't find words for it in Nepali," before plunging her eyes back to her story in the book. With Buddhi were three other women who had participated in the basic literacy class with Buddhi but who were not part of the writers workshop. When I asked them if they were interested in writing and publishing stories, they answered that there was no time and that they would need help. When I asked further if they were jealous of Buddhi, or eager to be published and famous authors, one of the women answered, "Even if only one women writes from our village and it is published, everyone in

the village feels proud. We aren't jealous of her. We don't all have to do it."

The authors were also asked why they thought that ACAP had organized a writers workshop and was publishing the stories of village women. Several of the women answered that ACAP was trying to assess their reading and writing skills. In Karma Kumari's words,

> We make books so that we don't forget how to read and write. They are doing research on us, to see if we know, so they ask us to write. . . Kathmandu books are good, but Samrakchan is better. It is made in the village, so we can easily understand the language. (Field Note #X, p. 10)

Bishnu Kumari, who, at 31 years old, was one of the older authors interviewed, thought for some time before responding to this question about ACAP's motives for developing LGM.

> If the highest educated people make books, it has a difficult language and is difficult to read. If writers of the same level can do, then the language is easy so easy to read. Also because from here, everything becomes easier to understand. All the places and things, we can understand them. . . They (advance class readers) think, if women here wrote a book, then we can also do something. It gives confidence. They get the belief that they can do what the story says. Kathmandu books are written by experts, so village women don't think they can do. . . Also, other people (outsiders) realize that village women know things. They think that village women can be teachers. They never think this before. Now they realize. (Field Note #1, p. 25)

As mentioned, in Samrakchan II, a wider range of stories and content matter was covered than the conservation development theme of the first volume. After the second day of writing, when participants were told to

write on any topic of their choice, Bipana Bika decided to write on untouchability, and Piari and Santi Bika also joined her. Santi later mentioned the difficulty in writing on untouchability. "I never thought about writing about this before. It was very difficult to write" (Field Note #2). This story is included here in it's entirety:

> Untouchability is a practice in many villages, but now-a-days, it is becoming less. Why do we have to take a step backward in every matter? Can't we progress? We are all human, we all bleed. A dog or a cat can enter a Brahmins house, but we untouchables are not allowed to do so. Why is our caste always given the toughest jobs. They pay us only to do the dirty work. This is because we do not use our brains. It is also because we are illiterate. This is why we must educate ourselves.

There are five follow up questions to the story with space to write answers. The questions are: i) what is untouchability?, ii) why is untouchability becoming less?, iii) What jobs are given to low castes?, iv) What is the reason for this?, and iv) What must be done to stop untouchability?

In interviewing the graduates of the advanced literacy courses, I usually showed them copies of both Kosalee and Samrakchan I to refresh their memories. Most of the readers interviewed had graduated from the course 2-5 months earlier. When asked to compare the two books, all the women interviewed were unanimous in their preference for Samrakchan. Kumari Gurung had this to say, "Samrakchan is about useful things, about tree plantation and conservation. Good things in the book make it useful." Bal

Kumari of Ghandruk agreed, "because it is really about daily life problems. It is useful and realistic. I can use what I read." I tried to press some of the women further, and remarked to them that in Kathmandu, people didn't think that Samrakchan was very good because it was written by village women. To this, Chhyamiri Gurung responded, "Samrakchan has simple sentences, short and easy. This is a case of daily life. It can't be foolish, no matter what Kathmandu people say." Chhyamiri also mentioned that in Kosalee Book 2, the vocabulary was hard to understand and the math difficult. Piari Bika's response to the same question was:

> Samrakchan is good to read. I really like the content. The stories, I can understand all of them. None of the stories are difficult to read. All of the stories are useful, about daily happen things. . . . In our book, we can understand everything (p. 28)

Although Samrakchan was intended for use once a week for a day, with each lesson taking one day, in reality, the reading, discussion and exercises often stretched the chapter over two or three days. If the participants really liked a chapter and were interested in the exercises, and if facilitator was motivated, the class would do an activity in the village based on the chapter (D. Gurung, 1994). There are many instances of this. In Lwang, Dibya described an advanced class in a Bahun village which after reading about Compost Pits, became so excited they demanded to learn how to construct one. The facilitator of the class contacted the ACAP office who sent someone to who help the

class build a model compost pit in the village. Led on by the participants in the advanced class, the village constructed numerous compost pits in the following year. When asked in late 1994, in her home in Ghandruk, what she thought was best about Samrakchan, Jagan Gurung responded with the following.

> It is very important that the women's names and their village are in the story - by whom and where. This makes the readers more interested. They see what other adult women can do. It gives them confidence to do other things, new things. If people in Kathmandu make the book, somehow its not so useful. Names of the places aren't familiar and the story and ideas aren't feasible to them. Women really believe if the book is made here. Real problems of the reader are included if the women from the village write the story.

In a village near Lwang the following year, during the advanced literacy class in which Samrakchan was used, the chapter "Unusual Village" prompted the advanced class participants to analyze their own water source. The facilitator and participants organized a walk to investigate the source of the village water to clean it. This walk led to several days of other water related activities and then to a proposal to the CDC for longer term initiatives based on the analysis of the village's water needs. Such follow-up was especially common after reading the Compost Pit chapter, which resulted in many compost pits being constructed by advanced class participants. In many cases, depending on the community, the context and the chapter, advanced classes focussed on activities outside the classroom for several days after

completing a chapter. Other activities started by the advanced class participants included community plantations, organized group afforestation activities, construction of improved cook stoves and maintenance of water taps (D. Gurung, 1994).

In interviews with Dibya, she is quick to point out that after completing chapters of Samrakchan, women in the advanced classes were often motivated to take some similar or related action. Not all of this can be attributed solely to the LGM materials, but there is a definite catalytic effect which can be attributed to the Samrackchan books and which brings out constructive action in the readers. A report by Dibya from 1994 has this to say about the impact of Samrakchan in the advanced classes.

> The most remarkable observation found ... was the participants knowledge and awareness about the use and advantages of the improved compost pits, improved cook stoves and tree plantation... A high demand for tree saplings were made by the participants and from their respective villages. In the case of two classes, the participants directly contacted ACAP for technical support and saplings for community plantation ... 60% of the participants demanded (help) for the improved cook stoves. The improved cook stoves are the improvised cook stoves with chimneys made from locally available materials but which requires training for the construction. (p. 12)

C H A P T E R V I

WORLD EDUCATION CASE STUDY

A. Introduction

World Education Incorporated is an international non-government organization (NGO) with its headquarters in Boston. World Education began its activities in the early 1950s with the establishment of Literacy House in Lucknow, India. It has since expanded and has provided training, technical assistance and support to non-formal education and literacy activities in over 25 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. World Education's first activities in Nepal started in 1978, when it provided resources and technical support to Tribhuvan University's Center for Education Research, Innovation and Development (CERID) to help develop the National Literacy Program, which was later adopted by MOEC. With USAID funding, World Education also supported MOEC to place additional staff in the Adult Education Section in Kaiser Mahal to look after the national non-formal education and basic literacy activities. Throughout the late 1970s and early '80s, World Education international staff were also placed inside the Ministry of Education to help develop and test basic literacy curriculum and materials and to provide technical support. Although World Education has long been involved in literacy and non-formal education programs in Nepal, it is !usually in the roles of technical support, materials

development, training, research and evaluation, and not as a literacy providing agency. In the context of Nepal, World Education believes:

> development is a community-oriented process which enables both the individual and societies to realize their full potential. Literacy can empower people to improve their lives by helping them to acquire: reading writing, comprehension and math skills, . . . critical thinking skills, . . . and self confidence to express opinions and work together. (World Education Brochure, 1993)

Among the many activities in which World Education is currently involved in Nepal, the main programs are: i) National Female Literacy Expansion Project, supporting classes and technical support for decentralized, district based, literacy campaigns, ii) NGO Strengthening, providing local NGOs with management support, iii) Post-Literacy Materials Development, especially in the areas of democracy education and functional literacy, iv) Research and Evaluation activities, including impact studies and retention, v) the Women's Literacy Savings & Credit project with the Ford Foundation, and vi) the Health Education & Adult Literacy (HEAL) project.

The Health Education and Adult Literacy (HEAL) project was initiated in October 1991. John Snow, Inc. (JSI), another Boston-based INGO with a health and development focus, approached USAID for the funding. World Education was then subcontracted to implement the literacy classes and to develop the supplementary health materials. As a pilot project, the activities were limited to 6 VDCs in Makwanpur District.

In the HEAL Final Evaluation Report, the main objectives of the HEAL project were listed as:

1. Increase the literacy skills and health knowledge of female CHVs (Community Health Volunteers) and village women . . ;

2. Increase the commitment and effectiveness of CHVs by increasing community recognition of them;

3. Increase women's understanding and use of health services . . ;

4. Provide a viable model for health/literacy education . . . and which can be expanded. (1994)

The HEAL project was developed by JSI in response to evaluations of Community Health Volunteers. In the late 1980s, the Ministry of Health had already established a system of health posts throughout the country at the Ilaka level. Ilakas are sub-district political boundaries, with usually 5-11 Ilakas per District. At each Health Post, the staff included a Village Health Worker and 2 assistants, whose jobs were to visit villages and provide basic health services. These services were mainly in primary health care, such as immunization, treatment of ARI and pneumonia, control of diarrhoea, growth monitoring and family planning. Unfortunately, the Health Post system in Nepal has remained extremely weak. In Health Posts, which serve three to four VDCs, the staff are often away from their post, medicines and supplies are out of stock, and villagers are discouraged by the poor and irregular services. Village Health Workers (VHWs), who are recruited one per VDC, are also poorly trained, poorly motivated and poorly paid. (JSI, 1988; UNICEF, 1992).

To support the activities of Health Posts, CHV posts were established in the early 1980s. This was an outcome of the Alma Ata meeting in 1980, which strongly promoted the role of health volunteers in primary health care. The main objectives of the CHVs when they were established were to mobilize communities for health and to carry out the basic and primary health care services in the villages. CHVs were given a minimum amount of training, provided with basic medical supplies, including ORT packages, temporary family planning devices, simple drugs (i.e., aspirin, paracetamol) and iodine for treating wounds, and paid a small stipend of Rs. 100 per month. For more serious illnesses and accidents, the CHVs were refer patients to the Health Posts or hospitals. Unlike Health Post workers, who were often away from their posts, CHVs were hired locally, and therefore, always available. As literacy was a pre-requisite or becoming CHVs, the majority of CHVs hired were men, as the female literacy rate in rural areas was so low (JSI, 1988; HEAL, 1994).

In the realization that women were less likely to migrate in search of employment, that female health was the cornerstone of family health and that women were more in tune with the health needs of the family and children than men, the MOH shifted the focus of CHV to women. In 1988, female CHVs (FCHVs) were actively recruited, with the literacy requirement waived. The main difference with CHVs was that FCHVs were expected to organize mother's groups, a

key element in community health care. Mothers groups meetings were to be conducted on a monthly basis for 3-4 hours to discuss various health topics and to share issues and problems related to health. These meetings and the training which FCHVs received focussed primarily on issues of family planning, pre-natal and ante-natal care and the health of infants, areas which men often found difficult to address owing to cultural norms. In 1989, over 28,000 women were recruited as FCHVs, and World Education designed the training program for the illiterate FCHVs using picture based manuals. The stipend of Rs. 100 per month (US$ 2) was continued with FCHVs (HEAL, 1994; JSI, 1988; UNICEF, 1992).

In 1990, the Rs. 100 stipend for FCHVs was stopped, and, as a result, the activity level of many of the CHVs diminished or ceased completely. In some cases, Mothers' Groups meetings and informal meetings and home-based discussions continued, even without the stipend. In order to strengthen community-based health care and village awareness, an evaluation of the CHV program after the termination of stipends was conducted by JSI. It was found that "CHVs reported that two things would motivate them to continue to serve and would make their task easier: literacy skills (both for the CHV and the women with whom they worked) and recognition from the community that the CHV's work was valued." (HEAL, 1994, p. 3). In response to these findings, JSI approached USAID for support for the HEAL Project.

The goal of the HEAL pilot project was two-fold. In the first was to strengthen the role of the CHV by increasing her literacy skills and by providing support the mothers groups with whom she worked. In this way, literacy classes for the CHV and the mothers and young women of the village would not only provide literacy skills but would support the sense of group and the function of the mother's group itself. In the second, by providing basic education and literacy to a village, it was argued that the women would be more likely to believe basic health messages and put them into practice. To pilot this approach, Community Health Volunteers (CHVs) and mothers groups in Makwanpur, a district in the Central Region of Nepal, were chosen. Over the course of the two-year pilot, 77 basic literacy classes were started in areas surrounding three Health Posts in the hilly regions of northern Makwanpur. The participants in each class were all female, including the CHV and the members of Mother's Groups which the CHV had organized and with whom she was working. In 1992, 50 classes were started with 49 CHVs working under two Health Posts, Raksirang and Palung the case study site. Of the 49 CHVs, 41 were illiterate. Of the 8 literate and semi-literate CHVs, 1 became a facilitator and 3 were class assistants (HEAL, 1994).

The original project proposal for the HEAL program involved a three phase program. The first phase was the six-month basic literacy course which used the "Naya

Goreto" series, along with 12 half-hour supplementary lessons on specific health topics, including oral rehydration, birth spacing and immunizations. These lessons were structured along the lines of Naya Goreto, following the same lesson planning, and did not interrupt the flow of the literacy course. These 12 lessons were conducted by the local supervisor, who received additional remuneration and training, and who conducted the lessons as part of the supervisory visits twice a month. A local facilitator, nominated by the CHV and the women, was trained for 12 days before starting to teach the basic course. Like other adult literacy programs, the classes meet 6 days a week, 2 hours a day (World Education, 1991; Comings, et. al., 1994).

The second phase of the HEAL project was a three month post-literacy course based entirely on health topics, which included AIDS, nutrition, first aid, family planning, immunization, sanitation and hygiene. The post-literacy classes met three times a week for two hours. The material for this phase was "Diyalo", developed by World Education especially for the HEAL project. The materials followed the same general format as the latter parts of the basic course, using comic strips, stories, exercises and small group activities, but with more extensive reading and writing exercises. Whenever possible, the same local facilitator was chosen to continue teaching the second phase classes. In 1993, 34 phase two post literacy classes were implemented, with 15 classes in the 5 VDCs surrounding

the Palun Health Post and 19 classes in the 5 VDCs surrounding Raksirang. In 1994, an additional 24 phase two literacy classes were started in Ambhanjhang Health Post.

The third phase of the HEAL Project was a twelve-month continuing education course which was to meet once a month for 3-4 hours. It was planned for the participants to review the last month's lesson, discuss what they had done in the past month and receive a new packet of materials. Each packet was to be focussed on a different topic, such as pre-natal care, building latrines, village health service systems or Vitamin A. The goal of this phase was to bridge learning activities to the daily lives of the participants. The practice of the monthly mothers groups meetings was utilized, so that for 2-3 hours each month, the women would meet, discuss one of the Phase Three booklets, and then take it home for further reading and to finish the exercises. The following month, when they came to the next meeting, the same process would be repeated, reviewing the completed exercises and stories and receiving a new booklet. The CHV herself facilitated these monthly meetings and it was in this Phase that the HEAL project made use of Learner Generated Materials (HEAL, 1994).

The decision to include LGM as Phase Three materials was not part of the original project proposal. Only after Diyalo had been field-tested was the decision made to use writers workshops with graduates of the literacy classes to produce the Phase 3 materials. The decision, which required

approval of many organizations and individuals, was supported by the participatory nature of the HEAL program and the personal interest of World Education Staff, especially Mr. Shyam Shrestha who oversaw the HEAL project for World Education and who developed Diyalo. In discussions between John Snow and World Education, the rationale of the utility of materials and the appealing nature of participatory materials development also contributed to the decision to experiment with LGM methods. After discussion and an exchange of letters and proposals, an agreement was reached whereby the costs of conducting the series of 3-day writers workshops were supported by UNICEF, while USAID would support the costs of printing the Phase Three materials. In October of 1993, a series of three 3-day writers workshops were agreed to, the first of which was conducted in Hetauda with 15 women graduates of the Phase 1 basic literacy program in February 1993.

B. Social Overview

In total, the HEAL Project was implemented in 13 VDCs of Makwanpur District, which were serviced by three Health Posts maintained by the Ministry of Health. Makwanpur itself, which lies directly south of the Kathmandu Valley, is made up of primarily Tamang people, a Tibeto-Burman ethnic group. The 1991 Census found that over 44% of the 319,000 population in Makwanpur were native Tamang speakers, while an additional 5% may be Tamangs speaking

Nepali as their first language. Bahun/chettris make up some 35% of the population. In the more remote VDCs where the HEAL project was piloted, over 60% of the population was Tamang. A hill district with its southern border running along the Tarai, Makwanpur also has the 10th largest city, Hetauda, with a population of 54,000 (CBS, 1991).

Makwanpur is a relatively developed District, with the old highway running north-south from the Kathmandu Valley to Hetauda and the new east-west highway cutting across its southern parts. The old highway, built in 1955 with assistance from India, established the first road link with Kathmandu Valley and increased the importance of the trading villages and towns along the way. Palun itself lies some 35 km from Kathmandu on the old highway. The District adult literacy rate was 40% in 1990, with female literacy approximately 22%, roughly the national averages. With 43 VDCs, Makwanpur could boast of over 350 Primary schools and 59 lower secondary and secondary schools in 1993 (UNFPA, 1993). Makwanpur was covered by the Basic & Primary Education Program in 1992, the first year of its expansion, which has resulted in the construction of additional primary schools and better training for the primary teachers (BPEP, 1992).

The Tamang people themselves are the largest of the Tibeto-Burman ethnic groups in the country, making up over 5% of the total population. They are also one of the more disadvantaged ethnic groups, with extreme marginalization

and historical legislative discrimination imposed upon them throughout the 1800s and 1900s. The Tamang are concentrated mainly in the Districts surrounding the Kathmandu valley, having spread from Okhaldunga in the east to Rasuwa to the North and Gorkha to the West. Today, they make up over 50% of the population of the three Districts which make up the Kathmandu Valley; Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur (Sharma, 1978; Tamang, P., 1992). It is interesting to note that while they are concentrated around the Valley, Tamangs have very little presence in the Valley itself, with small land holdings usually found in the higher hills which ring the Valley. Today, among metropolitan areas, Tamangs regularly make up the lowest economic rungs. In Kathmandu, they make up the majority of cart-pushers, rickshaw wallahs and porters, while 90% of the low-paid, thangka painting artists and 75% of the carpet weavers in the Valley are Tamang (Tamang, P., 1992).

The Tamangs are also originally followers of Bon religion, a shamanistic based belief shared with Gurungs, Thakalis and Thami. Like the Gurung and Thakali, Tamang women are also able to own and inherit land, and have stronger roles in the running of the household than Brahmin/Chettri women. Bon societies were oral, and did not develop any written script for religion or trade. After Guru Rimpoche brought Buddhism to Tibet in the mid-700s AD, and with the later conversion and persecution of followers of the Bon religion, Tamangs converted to Buddhism. As a

result, Tamang Lamas (holy men) were sent to study in Buddhist monasteries and learned Tibetan script. Sentibir Lama reports finding religious texts, such as Ruichen Cyopge, in the Tamang language, transcribed with Tibetan script. Many shamanistic practices have remained with the Tamangs after conversion to Buddhism and Hinduism, including sacrificing animals during illness, witch doctors (janikri), witches (bhokse), endogamous clans (jhats), and the practice of clan gods and house gods (Fricke; 1993; Lama, 1987; MacDonald, 1983; Nayi; 1994).

Most Nepalese today believe that Tamangs are a backward people without a developed culture. As already mentioned, little research has been conducted on Tamang society and the quality of most of the research is poor at best. In 1957, Sentibir Lama, the ex-governor of Ilam Province, published Tamba Kaiten: Genealogy, habits customs and songs of the Tamang. This book, written in Tamang language using Devanagari script, was the first text which systematically transcribed Tamang poems, songs and genealogies in Devanagari. While reprinted in 1959, the book was out of circulation after the failed democracy movement of 1960, and was not reprinted again until 1980. Portions of the work were translated into English by MacDonald in 1983. Written from a folklorist's perspective, "Tamba Kaiten" contains recorded oral traditions, usually in rhymed verse and song, which reflect the importance of song and ritual poetry to the Tamang way of life. The

translation by MacDonald in "Essays on the Ethnology of South Asia" includes this introduction by the author, Sentibir Lama.

> For the last twenty years, I have sought to collect traditions, genealogies and oral information concerning the habits and customs of the Tamang. I have succeeded in collecting books written in Tamang language and in Tibetan writing. These books are entitled Tamba Kaiten, Ruichen cyopge, Jikten tamchyo, and Rama. . . Tamba means poet and historian and kaiten what the poet writes after reflection. . . In the Ruichen Cyopge, the family divinities of the Tamang are described. In the Jikten tamchyo is told the story of the creation and of nature. In the Rama are found songs in the Tamang language. (p. 130)

It is difficult to express the important role that song plays in Tamang society. The Tamba, or village poet, holds a position of great importance. Besides the books mentioned above, Lama also discusses the "hvai," or songs containing important traditions and stories concerning the Tamang. He goes on to say "One finds in them information concerning religion, social life, asceticism and the habits, dreams and imaginings of the Tamang, as well as solutions to certain problems. . . The Tamba who composed these songs conserved them for Tamange society. . . It is the duty of every Tamang to seek out the hvai composed by the Tamba." (ibid., p. 131). The role of the Tamba in Tamang society is to pass on the songs from generation to generation and to use poems and songs to maintain cultural traditions and to maintain harmony in daily village life. All the four books mentioned above were written by Tambas, and the contents of the hvai are similar in spite of the

fact that the Tambas themselves came from different districts and regions of the country. As MacDonald has translated from Lama's work:

> To consign the words of the ancestors and to preserve the habits and customs, the function of Tamba was created. The Tamba . . . made known the genealogies . . . laid the basis for habits and customs. . . he fixed the dharma and he made known the jhat (castes). By composing the Rama, he gave birth to the hvai, which are of great importance and thus rendered service to his people. The Tamba is the guide (aguva) of the Tamang, he is also the poet (adikavi). . . thanks to the actions of the Tamba, the Tamang today know the music, the language, the religious and family duties of their ancient culture. (p. 132)

Even today, the Tamang are still famous for their music and songs, which are highly appreciated in Nepal. Songs are an integral part of the community, when referring to singing, Tamang today say "hvai gogo" referring to the instructional and educational aspects of the music they make. This has helped to maintain various aspects of Tamang tradition and culture even though Tamang communities are scattered over distant district (Bista, 1987; Fricke, 1991, 1993; Furer-Haimendorf, 1956). Today, however, Tamang society is losing this distinct heritage. This can be partly explained by the diminishing role which Tamba play in Tamang society. In the older times, Tambas were always appointed and replaced upon death, whereas today, they are not always replaced and their role in society has greatly diminished (Frick, 1993; MacDonald, 1984; Tamang, P., 1994).

As mentioned, the Tamang people have been systematically marginalized and exploited. This may be due, in part, to the large number of Tamang people who live around the Kathmandu Valley. Through systematic religious and economic oppression, there was little likelihood of rebellion under the Malla, Shah and Rana rulers. This state-sponsored subjugation of Tamang people can be traced to the Muluki Ain of 1854, the first Nepali legislation to address caste status. As Bista describes, there were two basic castes in this legislation: water acceptable (pani chalney); and water unacceptable (pani na chalney). The Tamang were classified as "pani chalney," which meant that they were not untouchable and could therefore serve higher castes. Nevertheless, they were considered "masiney matwali," meaning they lacked fundamental rights and could even be enslaved; bought and sold by higher caste Bahuns, Chettris and Newars. In this respect, Tamang were placed in the lowest rung of "pani chalney" caste structure, with few rights and no respect (Bista, 1992; Tamang, P., 1992). As P. Tamang reports:

> Portering was a function of vital economic importance to the three principalities of the Valley, which relied on trade links through the rugged terrain of the north and south. The Tamangs, residing in the periphery, provided just the required brawn. . . the Tamang nation came to occupy the strategically important region surrounding Kathmandu Valley. Feeling threatened by this "encirclement" Kathmandu's rulers thought best to bring them forcibly under central rule and exploit them enough that the community could never rise - as it has not been able to do until this day. (1994, p. 26)

In this analysis of Tamang oppression by Nepali society and legislative structures, P. Tamang notes that "it would seem that Tamangs gained an identity only in 1932, after King Tribhuvan and Prime Minister Bhim Shumshere allowed them to write 'Tamang' after their name in the civil service and military rolls" (p. 25). As an example, in 1896, the list of ethnic groups eligible for military service excluded Damai, Kami, Sarki and other untouchable castes. The Tamang were not listed, but were referred to as "pipa," which means porter in Nepali. Pipa's, or Tamang people, who at that time still did not have a recognized caste name, were excluded from military service. They were only allowed to carry loads, pitch tents and provide the basic menial labor required by the military. As a result of such exclusion, not only from military but also from official government service, the Tamang/pipa were blocked from the only real access to income and status available to non-Hindu ethnic groups, an access which greatly benefitted the Gurung, Limbus and Rais (Bista, 1985; Fricke, 1993; Messerschmidt, 1976; Tamang, P., 1992).

While some Tamang have proven extremely successful, both in academia and business, by and large, this is far from the case. Alcoholism among Tamangs is relatively high. In addition, in girl trafficking and prostitution, Tamang women make up the majority of the victims. This has been seen as a remnant of the masiney matwali system, where

prostitution is a form of bonded labor. Girls may be sold by their families, either directly to brothels touts or to carpet factories and other labor intensive industries, from where they later ending up in the flesh trade. Often leaving the abject poverty of the hill villages surrounding the larger cities of Valley, or regional urban centers, such as Hetauda, Tamangs can always be found sleeping in their rickshaws or squatting outside shanties, living on the fringes of the city (CWIN, 1993; HEAL, 1994).

On the brighter side, with the greater freedoms surrounding the 1990 democratic movement, there has been a resurgence in Tamang pride and cultural development. Besides the reprinting of S. Lama's "Tamba Kaiten", Kilok Nayi has been publishing a weekly newspaper for and about Tamangs since 1991, called "Jwala Mukhi" (Volcano) as well as a monthly magazine, "Shoh Mendow." As with most publications, these are found primarily in Kathmandu Valley and do not make it out to rural towns and villages. In 1992, Amrit Yonzen Tamang published 2 Tamang Language books, Tamang Bhykarna Prarup (Framework of Tamang Grammar) and Tamang Bhasa Bokcha (Tamang Spoken Conversation). Both books are written using Devanagari script. General awareness among Tamangs, their realization of legal rights and their ability to demand them, has also increased. Political power, however, has not shifted, and in 1992, there were only two Tamang Members of Parliament, or 1.5

per cent (1.5%) Tamang representation in Parliament (Bista, 1992; Gurung, 1993; Tamang, P., 1992).

C. World Education in Dadavas Village

As mentioned earlier, the HEAL Project was initiated in 1991 by JSI, who received funding from USAID and sub-contracted World Education to design and implement the 21-month adult literacy program. The First Phase of the project was piloted in 2 Health Posts, which were located at Raksirang and Palun. These Health Posts were responsible for health activities in 3 VDCs each. Aagra VDC lies a 3 hour walk west of Palun, over a small pass into another narrow valley, with a population of about 1,600. Aagra is made up of over 70% Tamang, with 20 % Bahun/chettris and small numbers of Damai, Kami, Sarki and others. Of the Tamang in Aagra, only 10-15% do not understand the Nepali language while over 25% are unable to speak it (HEAL, 1993).

To collect data and base line information for classes, a prerequisite from MOE for adult literacy classes, VHWs were assigned as the responsible persons for the VDC. The DPHO also requested each CHV to help collect the data in their Ward. The Base Line household survey identified all those in the Ward who were illiterate as well as those interested in attending the adult literacy program. The Health Post in Charge, in Palun, was responsible for collecting all the data from the CHVs and VHWs and

forwarding this to the DPHO, who shared it with World Education and JSI. This added responsibility for the Health Post complemented its existing role as health data centre for immunization and other health related information and increased its status and role in the surrounding communities.

The Health Post In-Charge was involved in many aspects of the HEAL project, including coordinating the two 3-day trainings for CHVs. The first, before the Phase One literacy classes started, was organized by JSI, World Education and the District Public Health Officer (DPHO) and gave CHVs a general overview to HEAL, the nonformal methods of the literacy classes and the approach to selecting sites for classes. The second was held prior to starting Phase Three to review progress to date and to prepare for the use of self-learning packages during the mother's groups meetings. In almost all classes, the CHVs took over the responsibility of conducting the Phase Three program. In addition, interviews and selection of the literacy class facilitators also took place in Palun Health Post. In both trainings and interviews, World Education made sure to invite the DPHO from Hetauda as well as the Central Regional Health Directorate, in order to get greater HMG ownership and commitment to the project. Throughout the HEAL project, bi-monthly meetings were also held between local supervisors, health post in charge, the DPHO and WE/JSI staff to discuss the status of programs, issues and

next steps. The Health Post in Palun was also used to store materials and to disperse textbooks and supplies as required.

The village selected for deeper research in connection with this study was Dadavas, a 3 hour walk from Palun, the nearest road head. Dadavas, with some 500-600 people is 95% Tamang population, with several Damai untouchables and one Chettri family. The center of Dadavas village is a cluster of 60 houses, stretched along the north side of a ridge top. Solid 2-story stone houses with slate roofs make up the main village, with the farm plots stretched out below each house on terraces carved into the earth. The main crops are potato, millet and corn, with no rice grown. The main staple is corn, which is mashed into porridge (dhido) and served with lentils, potatoes, chili peppers, salt or thin curd. Drinking water is plentiful, supplied by springs which have been tapped.

The walk from Palun to Dadavas goes up through a small pass which opens into the next narrow valley. Along the path, construction groups of Tamang men were busy clearing away loose rocks and debris from the steep hills above the path, with showers of rock cascading down the slope as a result of their efforts, accompanied by their shouts of warning and joy. As it was potato harvest time, groups of harvesters were busy in many filed. Not once did we see any harvest group of less than 5 people, sifting through the earth together and tossing the spuds in a pile. Communal

work groups are formed among extended families as well as on exchange basis between neighbors. While some of this labor exchange is cash or crop based, it is more often reciprocal. Just before reaching Dadavas, we passed a community forest, a thick old forest stretching over the ridge and below. Two old men, volunteers, looked after the forest and the paths leading into it as community wardens. On entering Dadavas village, many men were busy working on the construction of a new lower secondary school. Over a dozen men were securing rafters and attaching the corrugated sheets for roofing as we passed. Working voluntarily, the materials had been supplied by the DEO and VDC, while the men and women of Dadavas supplied the labor. Walking into the village, I was also very surprised at the number of latrines constructed, simple structures with burlap or thatch walls located behind most houses. These were built, I was informed by the women, was a result of HEAL project and the classes they had attended.

Sitting on the porch of the CHVs house in May 1995, in an informal discussion with a small crowd of men and women, I asked what the biggest changes in Dadavas had been over the past 10 years. The men answered that the forests were gone now, and there were more landslides. They also mentioned that the population of the village was bigger. The women, when specifically asked, answered that more schools were coming, with a lower secondary school now under construction in the village. They also mentioned the

bigger population and better health care. When asked about difference between Tamangs and Bahuns, the women answered that Bahuns made money and Tamangs didn't (with laughter), that their languages were different, and that Tamang women didn't wash their pots after cooking because it made the gods angry, although they were changing this belief now.

Throughout the HEAL Project Final Report, the key to the success was reported as the active participation by the CHVs. In Dadavas village, this was the CHV, Ms. Sano Kanchi Thing, a 27 year old Tamang woman who had been working as a CHV for six years. She is married with three children and lives with her husband, who is the local agricultural representative. During interviews, Sano Kanchi mentioned that she felt she was chosen by her village to be the CHV because she was outgoing and because her husband was a respected member of the community. When she was first selected as a CHV, she received a 3-day training at the Palun Health Post, where she also received supplies and medicines. She has attended a number of orientations and training in Palun and occasionally in Hetauda since then.

When asked about her job in May 1995, Sano Kanchi responded "I keep medicine in my house: Jeevan Jel, iodine, family planning pills and condoms, paracetamol. Men and women both come to me, but it is more women." After the training workshops at the HP, Sano Kanchi received some resources and supplies from the DPHO, including drugs and health supplies. At the time of my visit, the Health Post

was only supplying temporary family planning devices to Sano Kanchi free of charge, and occasionally ORT packages. In addition, the HP provided Sano Kanchi with a sign board for her home, designating it as a CHVs home, and of which she is proud. For her medicines and health supplies, Sano Kanchi charges villagers the cost price, which allows her to buy more supplies when she travels to Palun. Sano Kanchi does not receive any payment or services from her community in return for her services, and at times will even give her medicines free of cost.

Regarding the HEAL Project, Sano Kanchi attended the three day training in Palun, conducted by WE and the DPHO, which focussed on the purpose of the HEAL project, the structure and method of the literacy program and practical ideas for community mobilization. After the end of Phase 2, Sano Kanchi received a 3 day 'refresher training' on health issues and the use of the Phase 3 materials. Sano Kanchi had never attended school and was illiterate before the HEAL Project. She joined the literacy class as a participant. When asked during my visit how she was using her literacy skills, Sano Kanchi responded:

> Before, I could only remember what I heard. When I became literate, then I could write notes, so I can remember better what I should do, or what I did. It makes my work easier. . . we also write letters to friends that we met during adult class who have moved away (due to marriage) . . . we send notes back and forth . . . maybe 2 letters per month.

Dadavas enrolled 30 women in the basic literacy class in 1992. The facilitator was a male teacher at the local

primary school, Ramashis Singh. He had been chosen after a written examination and an interview at the Palun HP involving JSI, WE, HP, DPHO and DEO. The local supervisor was Ashok KC, who lived in Palun. He received a special five day supervisor training and also attended the 12 day facilitator training. Ashok visited the classes in his area two times per month and in the case of Dadavas, he would have to spend the night. Besides observing and monitoring the classes (attendance and supplies) Ashok also taught a special health class during each visit. These lessons were accompanied by supplementary, loose-leaf materials which were distributed to all participants. Ashok also met with villagers and local leaders to encourage participation and motivation for the program. In addition, Laxmi P. Ghimire, the field coordinator from World Education, also visited Dadavas 3-4 times during the project to monitor the classes and to bring supplies and materials. He also visited the local leaders, VDC and Ward Committee members to motivate participants and maintain community support and interest in the project. In all, five students dropped out of the class as a result of marriages and subsequently moving away from the village.

After completing the Phase One Naya Goreto package in June, the Phase 2 classes started in August 1994, after the heaviest part of the planting season. The Phase 2 class, with 25 participants, met three times per week and used the course book, Diyalo. The Diyalo materials were still in the

process of development and finalizations, so loose leaf lessons were used rather than a bound book. Sano Kanchi played an increased role as motivator for the class, maintaining the attendance roster and keeping up interest in the village. As Diyalo focussed primarily on health messages and stories, Sano Kanchi felt the direct link between her role as CHV and the classes in her village. Mr. Singh continued as the facilitator of the Phase 2 classes. There was no drop out and all 25 women completed the course in late November. It was during the Phase 2 class that the Writers Workshop in Palun was organized. Two participants joined from Dadavas, Sano Maya Kanchi and Kanchi Maya Sangthan.

The official JSI/World education Evaluation of Phase One and Two of the HEAL Project, reflects the great success and apparent potential of the model. In comparing outcomes between the basic HEAL adult literacy classes and those without the HEAL supplementary lessons, health knowledge was much higher in the HEAL classes. Awareness of dehydration and knowledge of preparation was 89% among HEAL participants while only 56% in regular literacy classes. Similarly, immunization knowledge was 10% higher in HEAL (71%), while water contamination awareness and remedies was almost 40% higher in HEAL (86%). Participants in HEAL were twice as likely to utilize health posts and the CHV as a primary or secondary choice (61%) while in regular classes, only 34% mentioned CHVs and health posts. Similarly,

comparative test scores on reading, writing and numeracy were higher in HEAL classes, while completion rates and attendance were also higher. After the Phase Two course, participant knowledge of ORT, AIDS, intestinal worms, and first aid practices were again higher than after Phase One (Comings, et al., 1994; HEAL, 1994).

The third phase, using the LGM materials, was organized in February 1994 in Dadavas with 25 participants. The HEAL Project was piloted to demonstrate and reinforce the strong link between basic female literacy and increased basic health practices and awareness. The LGM aspects of HEAL were only a small part of the overall project. As a result, it is difficult to delineate the outcomes related to HEAL as a whole and those directly traceable to the Phase 3, LGM process and products. When asked in May 1995 what changes she had noticed in Dadavas in the last three years, Sano Maya responded with the following:

> Now, there are many more chorpis (pit latrines), and more are coming. . . Taking children for immunization and pregnant mothers are getting checked up. . . Family planning too, more are talking about and some are doing. Three men had vasectomy's and two women have taken deepro. The village is also cleaner and more tidy . . . women are washing their dishes.

D. Development of LGM in HEAL

As previously mentioned, the idea of using LGM to develop Phase Three materials was not part of the original project plan and proposal. Rather, on the initiative of Mr. Shyam Shrestha, the World Education staff member

responsible for the materials development aspects of the HEAL Project, LGM was adopted as a strategy. The emphasis of LGM was placed on using the writers workshop method as a means of getting village new literates to produce health materials for other new literates to read. After discussions between World Education and UNICEF, UNICEF agreed to support the costs for three writers workshops, and to provide technical assistance for the first training. Funds from USAID under the original HEAL Project would be used to print the materials. During discussions in Dadavas in May 1995, Shyam described his objectives for using LGM to develop materials:

> LGM was a method to reach an objective. It was not the objective. The topics were selected by MOH, JSI and World Education. The Phase 3 objectives were to reinforce health messages and to help transfer the messages from class to home. I thought LGM had potential to do that. . . I also wanted to apply my knowledge (of LGM), to see what participants knew and to try a new approach (to materials development).

The three LGM workshops were conducted in February 1993 by two World Education staff and an illustrator, while I represented UNICEF's technical support for the first workshop in Hetauda. Each workshop was conducted for three days with the number of participants ranging from 12-16. Invitations to attend the workshop were sent via the DPHO, who was instructed to invite the three best participants from different literacy classes to participate. Even though the majority of participants in the literacy classes were Tamang, over 65 per cent of the participants in the writers

workshops were Bahun/Chettri, with only 20 per cent were Tamang. This was attributed to the fact that Bahun and Chettri women tend to perform better in class as they usually have some familiarity with print and reading experience in the home. Among the many concerns which faced the facilitators before the first writers workshop was the issue of control, and how to structure activities so that students could freely write about topics which would be assigned to them. There was a list of 10 topics which needed to be covered in Phase 3 materials. Among the many questions which faced the organizers were: Would the participants want to write about the topics? Did they know the topics well enough to write about them? Did they even know how to write?

The first day of the first writers workshop started with introductions, which involved getting all the women to learn each other's names and villages. We then asked a general question, "why are you here?" There was some silence before several women answered (to write, to tell stories, to learn). This was followed by two more expectation questions, "what are you excited about?" and "what are you worried about?" In general, participants were interested to try writing, to meet new friends and to travel, but they were nervous about not being able to write well enough. They also shared a sense of insecurity over becoming authors. The facilitators shared similar hopes and fears, but added that their expectation was for the women

in the room to be able to write songs and stories together which could be printed and shared with other women. All shared the excitement.

Facilitators also discussed writing itself and the various stages in the writing process the first morning. As there were only three days, facilitators wanted to openly share, early in the workshop, their beliefs on writing and how we wanted the participants to work. In one activity, Shyam Shrestha drew the writing process as a circle on the board, describing each of the steps by explaining how he had written Diyalo. The objective of this activity was to demystify writing, to see the writing process as a whole and to realize how all writers move back and forth between these steps when they write. In the context of the three day workshop, Shyam explained that we would start new stories, revise, share and edit and get a chance to write on several topics throughout the workshop.

After this 30-minute session, everyone was getting excited to start writing. From the set of discussion posters used in the basic literacy program, an illustration of a family walking through a barren hillside with all their possessions and the family cow, representing the key word "migration" was chosen. Participants were asked to verbally describe the mother, father and three children depicted in the poster: their age, why they were migrating, where they might be going, what their feelings might be. The participants were then asked to choose one of

the characters and write three sentences about what they were thinking or feeling. This was expected to be a short activity which would give the participants a chance to write creatively and to practice sharing aloud what they were writing before lunch break. This exercise, however, took much longer than expected. The women were not fluent writers and the act of putting words on paper was time consuming and required full concentration. The topic was also abstract and proved difficult for some to grasp. It was also apparent that the women did not enjoy writing alone and several asked if they could work with a partner.

The participants were then asked to read their work aloud. As a whole group, they practiced sharing feedback on the stories. After each story was read, Shyam asked the listeners which parts they liked best or what they wanted to know more about. He also modelled asking the readers questions about their work. In the last readings, the whole group was able to ask for and share feedback openly, and Shyam wrote examples of the types of questions used on the board. At the end of the day, the list of health topics which needed to be covered was shared with the participants. The participants stated that they knew little about the topics but were asked none-the-less to choose one topic and try to write a story on it for homework.

At the end of each day, the facilitators held debriefing meetings to review each activity and to plan how it could be improved or expanded for the next writers

workshops in Palun. On the second day, we experimented with role plays, in which women acted out situations and conversations. The facilitators established the scene and characters, and after the role play, we recounted the conversations and wrote them into dialogues. On the first try, participants developed a story and dialogue about a village woman asking her family and neighbors if she should go to the Health Post when she learns that she is pregnant. Role plays worked well as they are common throughout the Naya Goreto and Diyalo materials. By the second writers workshop, the process was more efficient, with several groups working on transcribing different parts of the role plays simultaneously.

Facilitators also tried to use a problem tree as a tool for drafting and thinking about the topic. While it was an interesting exercise, it required a lot of time and input from facilitators to turn the tree into a story form. In Palun, simpler trees were introduced, with only a few branches and roots. Participants also contributed whole sentences rather than single words and phrases to the branches and roots of the tree, which were written on the board, and which helped bridge the activity into text.

In another activity which proved successful, participants were asked to choose two or three health topics from the list on newsprint. After selecting two topics, the whole group was asked what they knew about the topics, the symptoms, causes or cures. This led to an

informative and lively discussion, with key vocabulary and phrases from the participants written on the black board. After this, the participants were formed into small groups to write songs about the topic. Within 30 minutes, three songs had been written which were then sung to the whole group. The women themselves were very excited by their songs, which they revised and edited together. This process of discussing the facts and information on a specific topic and them assigning the topic to groups was also popular in the later workshops in Palun. There, health post staff were also invited to come and speak on topics, which the participants then put into their own words.

To discuss feelings and issues related to the writers workshops, four authors of the HEAL LGM were interviewed. In describing the process of writing the books, all four women made mention of how writing in groups made the work easier. According to Maya Bista, an author from Gogane VDC, the difficult part of the writers workshop was "how to start and from where to start. It was hard for us to write about things we didn't know." The writing was made easier because

> the facilitators helped us from time to time in writing the things we didn't know. . . and they explained the confusing things. It helped when they could give us good information on the topic that we had to write about.

As Kanchi Maya Sangthan reported:

> It wasn't difficult because we were in a group. Now, I can even write alone. When I am writing books, I don't have to be shy, but speaking makes me shy. I want to write more books. . . Health

topics were easy for me, so I can write more about that.

The editing and finalization of the materials took place in Kathmandu. Very little time was spent on editing and finalizing texts in the writers workshops as more emphasis was placed on developing appropriate, health related content matter. Shyam had collected many stories, dialogues and songs, on newsprint and notebook paper, from the participants, but he still had no clear picture of how the whole would come together into a published form. It was a challenging task, but over a six-month period, Shyam decided to separate the participants drafts into 12 different volumes, with each volume focussed on a different health topic. In editing, Shyam corrected the spelling and grammar and provided some stylistic improvement to the syntax. In a few cases, for example, the stories on "snake bite" and "night blindness", factual information needed to be added and misinformation corrected by Shyam during the editing process. In addition, Shyam decided to develop and write a number of new stories in Kathmandu as there were too few LGM stories to fill all 12 volumes of the Phase 3 materials. In total, about 60 per cent of the text are LGM while the remaining stories, songs and dialogues were developed by Shyam and other materials developers in Kathmandu. With additional time and workshop budget, however, Shyam felt that only LGM texts could have been used (Field Note #3).

It is also interesting to note that the vast majority of the stories selected for the final materials are authored by Bahun/Chettri women. While they made up 65 per cent of the participants in the writers workshops, their stories make up over 85 per cent of the LGM text. While this was not planned and occurred without staff even being aware of it, the style of the stories, including the verb endings and syntax, reflect traditional Nepali more than Tamang style. This did not seem to hinder Tamang women's appreciation or understanding of the materials, though the most popular story in the booklets, "Sano Kanchi's Wish", was written by four Tamang women. In the materials, the authors names and villages are included at the end of each LGM story, while for the stories and songs written in Katmandu, no names are given. In each volume, approximately 4 pages are used for comprehension questions and writing exercises. The exercises which follow the stories were also developed in Kathmandu with the goal of helping participants remember the messages and to reinforce their writing habits. The titles of the 12 volumes in the series are as follows:

1. Cleanliness
2. Pit Latrine
3. Pneumonia
4. Health Post
5. Female Community Health Volunteer
6. Vitamin A

7. Happy Family (Family Planning)
8. Alcohol
9. Community Participation
10. Village Health Worker
11. Complicated Pregnancy
12. Child Spacing

E. Use of LGM by HEAL

In October of 1994, first 3 packages of materials were finalized, printed and sent to the field: Clean Village, Pit Latrine and Pneumonia. Each volume was 16 pages with 14 point script, containing a combination of illustrated stories, dialogues and songs. In the volumes themselves, about 25% of the content was devoted to follow up questions and exercises, with space provided for participants to write answers. The Pneumonia booklet starts with the following song which takes up the first and second pages:

Pneumonia

At times you catch a cold and cough
If you neglect it can get tough.

When you catch a cold, don't say "what to do"
Cold and cough can be harmful to you

Continuous cold and cough brings fever
And your nose starts running a river

When you suffer from cough fever, you have to be careful
Excessive nose running can also be harmful

Children under five suffer a lot
Children who have fever suffer a lot

The chest gets congested, one eats and drinks less
The body becomes so weak and lifeless.

Breathing gets faster, the lower abdomen starts
paining
And yes, don't forget, the continuous nose running.

If a child suffers from all of these symptoms
Pneumonia is the cause of these symptoms.

The child should be admitted to the hospital
Otherwise the case can become fatal.

(translated Prerna Bun)

While the text of this poem is accompanied only by a few illustrations and no musical score, local women are able to sing the songs from the Phase 3 materials with ease, requiring only a moment to look the text over before singing. The songs will have different rhythm and melody depending on the singers. In several villages where I shared this 'poem,' the women had no difficulty and took great pleasure in singing it as a 'song.' When I asked Sano Kanchi whether she liked the LGM songs or the stories more, it was from her role as CHV she answered: "We like songs - they are so easy to read. In our group, we sing songs, and if we sing one of the songs from the book, people will come to listen." At this point she and two other women of the class opened one of the packages and started singing a song about Vitamin A. In less than two stanzas, three more adults and six children had joined us to listen, with more passer-bys and neighbors joining us a few stanzas later.

Another story, which was one of the most popular, is called "Sano Kanchi's Wish." It was written by four women from Aagra VDC, Kanchi Maya Syangden, Thuki Maya Thing,

Sano Kanchi Thing and Kanchi Maya Waiba and describes the role and dreams of a CHV.

> In the village of Dadavas, there lived somebody named Sano Kanchi Thing . . . One day, she heard about the Female Community Health Volunteer service. After she heard about this, she wanted to be a volunteer. . . . the day the female CHV was to be chosen, after a lot of discussion, the village chose Sano Kanchi. All the villagers felt that she was capable and efficient. After she was chosen, she went to the Health Post to receive training. . . During the training, she was taught about diarrhoea, inoculations, family planning, first aid, cleanliness and health and welfare of women and children. . . She was given a bag, bandage, cotton, jeevan jel, scissors, iodine, contraceptives and ceitamol by the health post and sent back to the village . . . She called a meeting of the mother's club . . . She told them from now on, I shall give you medicine for cuts and bruises, but when she mentioned that they would have to pay for the medicine, some villagers doubted her sincerity. Nevertheless, she turned a deaf ear. . . When the medicines finished, she bought some more with her own money. Thus, she gradually won the confidence of the villagers.

The story goes on the explain that pregnant women should not carry heavy loads and should avoid cigarettes and alcohol. It also mentions the importance of vegetables and good diet for young children and women. The exercise after the story gives a list of six vocabulary items (i.e., pregnant women, green vegetables, mother's milk), with space after each word. The reader is asked to write a sentence using that word. This story was the only one published that was written by women from Dadavas and was admittedly the favorite story of the women from the village.

When I asked Kanchi Maya what changes she had felt since becoming a writer, she answered, "My neighbors don't tease me because I learned to read. When others get letters from outside, they come to me to read. . . Now, I have more respect. I am a big person in the village and others involve me more in village things." This is an empowering element which LGM appears to provide to authors in the process of becoming published. When I asked Sano Kanchi, an author and the CHV from Dadavas, the same question, she answered in a similar vein:

> Now that my story is in a book form, I can take my book with me - and show people the stories. Then they listen more to what I say and pay more attention. It makes my work easier because people believe me. This is a change. Now more people believe me. . . My children like to read my stories. My nieces and nephew also read. It makes me feel happy, very good, when they read my story.

I also asked the authors of the stories in the booklets were really their stores, they all answered yes. I asked more deeply if any changes, the editing or the illustrations made them feel that the story were not theirs anymore. The authors responded that they still recognized their stories and felt that these stories were theirs. All the authors interviewed stated that there were changes to their stories, but added that they liked the changes because it made them 'better.' Maya Bista answered that her story had been changed: "It's a little bit different. It is better now, but it is still my story." Sano Kanchi added that "We like the text more than the pictures. Looking at

pictures, we don't know it is our story. But when we read, then we know."

One of the more original stories is told about Vitamin A from the perspective of a pumpkin. It was written by Sano Maya Adhikari, Ambika Aryal, Sani Maiya Pandey and Sesh Kumari Adhikari from Hadikhola VDC, and called "Autobiography of a Pumpkin." It describes a conversation between a poor farmer and a pumpkin in his field one evening near dusk. While working alone in his field, the farmer exclaims aloud about his dim vision. To his surprise, the voice which responds from the blurred shadows belongs to a pumpkin, and the following conversation ensues:

> "Oh, so you are a pumpkin. Look, my eyesight is blurred."
>
> "Brother Farmer. Do not worry, I have the power to improve eyesight."
>
> "I do not understand. . . Please explain properly."
>
> "Now listen. Green vegetables and yellow fruits have the power to improve your eyesight. Children cannot do without such food. We have grown plenty in your garden. . . You humiliate pumpkins by saying we are a no good vegetable. Even your family doesn't eat me."
>
> "At last, I have found out that a pumpkin has so much potential. I shall start eating pumpkin and convince my wife and children too."
>
> "Well, I'm not the only vegetable . . . even my friends, carrots, papaya, mango . . .green vegetables have this. You must eat them too."

The follow-up exercise to the autobiography consists of the following four questions, each with space and lines for participants to write their answers:

1. What did the pumpkin say?
2. What vegetables and fruits have the same power as the pumpkin?
3. What do you understand by night blindness?
4. In our daily life, what fruits and vegetables contain Vitamin A?

This course was still going on when we visited the site in May 1995. As of our visit, the last three volumes of the LGM series had still not reached Dadavas from the HP in Palun, but the first nine volumes had been used by the mothers' group. Still, the women who were members of the Phase Three monthly mothers' group had also missed a few monthly meetings already. They reported that this was due to heavy farm work during the busy season which conflicted with the monthly meetings. In interviewing participants in the Phase Three classes from around the area about their feelings regarding the materials, Laxmi Ghimire, the Field Coordinator, found that most of the women liked the LGM stories that were written by someone they knew or that were from a nearby village. There were also some general favorites, including the whole volume of Women's Community Health Volunteer, which includes Sano Kanchi's Wish. In asking women in Dadavas about the LGM packages in comparison to Diyalo, which was developed entirely in Kathmandu by professional writers, there was overwhelming preference for the LGM booklets. All nine women who had studied in both Phase Two and Three and who were

interviewed mentioned that the HEAL LGM series was easier to read and that the information and content was more practical and relevant. Kanchi Maya Ghole, a 19 year old mother of two, had this to say:

> Diyalo is funny and we get messages from some of the stories, like the fish/worm story, but we like LGM because it is our story. Also, it is easier to read. . . I still go back and read LGM, but not Diyalo.

I asked Sano Maya Thing an 18 year old still living with her mother and father, how she would respond if people in Kathmandu said books written in village were not so good. She looked cross when she answered:

> If it is from the village, it is better. And it is easier to understand. . . Kathmandu books are good too, but we can read them more easily if we can read our own books first.

Laxmi Kumari Mathi also disagreed with my suggestion that LGM were inferior to Kathmandu publications: "It is our book with our concerns. It is easier to learn with our own books."

As previously mentioned, in trying to analyze the impacts of LGM on community change and social development, it is difficult to separate LGM from the HEAL Project as a whole. One anecdote which points to the link was given by Laxmi Kumari Mathi, a 20-year-old mother of one. When I asked her which booklet she liked best, she was quick to respond with the following: "I like chorpi (Volume 2). It gives good information about how to make chorpis and why they're important. I made a chorpi (after reading) and I told everyone they should too. Some people did, but others

didn't have time." Sano Kanchi, the CHV, supported this when she answered that after the second monthly meeting during Phase Three, when the Chorpi Booklet was studied, a number of new pit latrines were constructed in the village.

One element which was surprising was the feeling of the women in relation to writing in Tamang language. As many of them have difficulty in speaking Nepali, I asked if they thought it would be useful to develop LGM in their own language. Overwhelmingly, the women thought it was a bad idea. While none of the women went so far as to say that Tamang was an inferior language or worse than Nepalese, none of the women placed any value real on the language, especially as a written medium. None of the women had ever tried to write in Tamang and none had ever seen Tamang written. Reasons given in support of using only Nepali were that it was the national language and that Nepali was more important. Others mentioned that it was not necessary to learn Tamang since they had now learned how to read Nepali and two women mentioned that the Tamang sounds would be too difficult to put into Devanagari. This response from Sano Kanchi was typical:

> It (Tamang writing) won't be good as most of the work is done in Nepali language. Nepali is spoken in courts and markets. Therefore, it (LGM) won't be good in one's own language.

Mani Lama and others in Kathmandu with whom I spoke felt that this issue was fundamental to the future empowerment of the Tamang people. According to Mani, "Real empowerment lies in this step - saying that Tamang

(language) is valid . . . making reading easier for Tamangs who don't speak any Nepali, or who speak Nepali poorly." None-the-less, the Tamang women from Dadavas definitely preferred reading the LGM to Diyalo. The women felt that the materials had come from them and never once mentioned that the materials used a Bahun/Chettri style of writing rather than Tamang. In fact, the women felt that all the songs were of Tamang origin, even those developed by the experts in Kathmandu. This may be in part due to the fact that the women interviewed have had no prior exposure to texts that were even remotely Tamang in origin.

In 1995, the funding for the HEAL Pilot Project from USAID came to an end. As a model, HEAL has received considerable attention and proven itself successful in terms of low learner drop out from the literacy classes, and in terms of disseminating health messages and changing health behavior (HEAL, 1994). A new proposal for expanding the efforts to 12 new Districts has been approved and is currently being planned for implementation through a counterpart NGO. These 12 districts are spread throughout the geographical and development regions of the country. In a interview in early 1995 with Chij Kumar Shrestha, Director of World Education for Asia, who is based in Nepal, he raised the following issue. While the Phase Three LGM texts have attracted considerable attention and interest in Nepal and elsewhere, as the HEAL model is expanded to new Districts, new LGM texts will need to be

developed. Considering that a main objective of LGM is to develop relevant and practical materials using target group members themselves, then as HEAL expands, Mr. Shrestha felt that additional writers workshops would be needed. The target groups in the new districts may very well find that the LGM texts developed in Makwanpur are neither relevant or meaningful for them. When funding was finally approved for expansion of HEAL, writers workshops with new literate graduates of basic literacy classes to develop additional LGM texts were planned.

C H A P T E R V I I

BASE CASE STUDY

A. Introduction

BASE is a local non-governmental organization (NGO) with its headquarters in Dang District, located in the Mid-Western Development Region. The main focus of BASE is the education for the empowerment of the Tharu people, a marginalized ethnic group indigenous to Dang and neighboring districts. The roots of BASE stretch back to 1985 when 5 young Tharu men formed The Club of Four Corners in their own village. In addition to providing basic education, the Four Corners Club also sought to specifically improve the condition of the Kammaiya, who are Tharu who live in virtual slavery as "bonded laborers." While illegal today, the Kammaiya practice still exists, with some Tharu families working for generations for the same family of landlords, living under contractual debt without basic freedoms (BASE, 1991, 1992). According to BASE's 2nd Year Report:

> Lack of education was an essential cause to the Tharu's deprivation of land and political and human rights. . . under the slogan "Education is Necessary" the club was called The Club of Four Corners, where one edge was symbolizing a village. Four edges, or villages, form a square, or one club. (1993, p. 4)

By 1989, 10 clubs had been formed, covering 40 villages in the Western part of Dang District. Basic literacy classes and educational coaching for Tharu

children enrolled in secondary school was initiated voluntarily in an ad hoc basis. At this time, the members of Four Corners decided to officially register themselves as an NGO with the Chief District Office (CDO) in Dang, under the name of "Free Labor Movement" (FLM). The leaders of the FLM felt this would give them eligibility to approach donors for resources, to build stronger contacts with government line agencies and to legitimize the community development activities they were carrying out. The main objectives of Free Labor Movement were "to educate Tharus and to release the debt bonded laborers, called Kammaiyas" (BASE, 1993, p. 3). The Director of BASE, one of the five founding members of the Four Corners, is Dilli Chaudory, who had studied social work in Bombay in his teen years with Medha Patkar of the Marmada Bachao movement. The mobilization strategies and approaches at BASE are modelled on these principles with basic education closely linked to grass roots mobilization for basic rights.

In 1990, while waiting for its registration as an NGO to be approved, the free Labour Movement managed to implement 37 literacy classes for 2,500 people using Naya Goreto with adults and Naolo Bihani texts with children. Limited technical support for teacher training and supervision was provided by SCF US and PACT, two international NGOs who provide institutional strengthening to promising local NGOs. The facilitators were poorly trained, lanterns were lacking and both the facilitators

and supervisors worked for free. The Free Labour Movement also conducted traditional cultural shows with dance, song and drama with the goals of maintaining Tharu cultural traditions, of instilling pride in Tharu culture, of building public awareness on the Tharu situation and of raising money. In addition, after establishing links with the District Public Health Office (DPHO) and the District Agriculture Office (DAO), 10,000 seedlings were distributed. Vegetable garden training programs were also conducted for BASE members in the 40 villages in western Dang valley. After many delays in the process, the application for registration was denied by the panchayat officials and the CDO, who accused the Free Labor Movement as being associated with either the Communist or Congress parties, which were both outlawed at the time. In February of 1991, the Free Labor Movement was finally allowed to register, but only after changing its name to the less provocative Backward Society Education (BASE, 1991, 1992a).

Officially registered in April 1991, BASE submitted a proposal entitled "Tharu Education for Transformation" to DANIDA in August. This was a 3-year proposal (1992-1994) with activities planned for 11 VDCs in Western Dang, with a total population 45,000, where BASE had already registered some 16,000 members. The objectives of the Education for Transformation project were mainly educational including increased literacy and primary school enrolment for Tharus, especially Kammaiyas. In addition, increased cash income,

awareness raising on legal rights and on available government services and stronger community organization among Tharus were also listed as objectives. The educational activities proposal to DANIDA included non-formal literacy classes for children and adults, scholarships and coaching for Tharu lower, upper secondary and college level students, community meetings and orientations for awareness raising, with drama, problem identification games, and basic technical orientations for members on health, farming and plantation. In total, funds for 80 literacy classes per year were requested (240 classes over 3 years), and no expansion to other VDCs or Districts was planned (BASE, 1991, 1992a).

Support from DANIDA was approved and the programs initiated in October 1991. The Half Year Report, submitted by BASE to DANIDA in April 1992, reported that BASE had expanded to over 45,000 members in 3 Districts (Dang, Bardiya and Kanchenpur). The demand for literacy classes had been so extreme that communities were starting classes from their own initiative, constructing learning centers and appointing volunteer facilitators with neither materials, textbooks or training. As a result, BASE had desperately approached UNICEF and DANIDA, as well as INGO friends, to help support the literacy programs. By December 1991, BASE was overseeing some 600 literacy classes, and was extremely overstretched, both administratively and technically. As written in the One Year Report: ". . .the

demand from the village people for basic education showed up to be much greater. The idea of starting literacy classes in every village spread like a prairie fire" (1992b, p. 25). The One Year Report in November stated that membership was over 51,000.

A key factor in the expansion of BASE is the fact that it was Tharu organization working for Tharus. As a disenfranchised and marginalized group, Tharus had been left out of the government's development processes. BASE was formed on the principle of self help by Tharus. BASE staff and leadership are ethically committed, with its leadership initially serving voluntarily. Even today, all paid staff give 10 per cent of their salaries back to the organization for use in group funds for members. In his description of BASE's expansion, Dilli Chaudory, the President, states:

> BASE . . . captured the trust of the and credibility of the local people . . . to assist alleviating the acute poverty among the Tharus and other marginalized caste communities. . . (BASE) successfully mobilized the people for self-help development, with a large number of voluntary networks at the grass roots level. Therefore, BASE's activities are more like a movement rather than a typical NGO. The population served by BASE are among the poorest of the poor, least educated, marginalized, bonded laborers, women and children. (BASE, 1992b, p. 2)

Among the many activities which BASE introduced to its membership were non-formal education, with adult and children's NFE classes. BASE also opened primary night schools, for children (especially Kammaiya) who were not able to study during the day owing to work. For these

schools, special permission was required from the DEO, which BASE was able to broker. Girls education was supported through scholarships, while SLC coaching helped some 100 Tharu children to pass the high-school leaving examination over 2 years. As part of its organizational development, BASE divided its office into Sections, each with staff responsible for specific activities. Under the Kammaiya Section, BASE started with Kammaiya meetings to build solidarity among families before starting educational activities. Support for Kammaiya children included the construction of hostels, a savings program to help pay off their debt, and seed distribution through nonformal classes (BASE, 1993; Field Note #6).

As can be imagined, it is extremely difficult to initiate work with Kammaiya families. BASE needed to overcome resistance from landlords, mistrust and resignation from the Kammaiya themselves and the extreme poverty and lack of awareness in which Kammaiya's live. The Health Section used community outreach and awareness activities to focus on mother/child health (MCH) and family planning, with outreach clinics, health camps and links to the education programs. Income generation activities were mainly structured around farming, with free or loaned quality seeds and technical support for vegetables, potatoes, maize and rice. Infrastructure development for villages helped in the construction of community wells,

community buildings, pit latrines and road maintenance (BASE, 1993).

While BASE has generated intense interest among the Tharus themselves, it has been able to expand exponentially due to its decentralized approach to management and the simplicity of its membership and committee system. This has allowed BASE to remain in touch with and responsive to the needs of its members. Membership in BASE is open to anyone who is interested to join, and the yearly membership fee is Rs. 1 per year, which is collected and kept by the Village Committee. Husbands and wives are expected to join BASE with separate memberships. Once a village has almost full membership, a nine-member Village Committee (VC) is elected and an application for recognition is sent to the Area Committee overseeing the VCs in that area. Prior to receiving full recognition, the VC must carry out a base line survey and analyze information about the population of the village, its existing status and its needs. Sub-committees can also be appointed by the VC, which are then responsible for looking after specific projects and activities (i.e., education, Kammaiya, health). The VC can also collect fees and raise money from members for its own projects, as well as apply to the Area, District and Central Committees for support. In terms of expansion, BASE had planned 11 VCs, with additional sub-VCs in 1991 but had expanded to 119 VCs, with 8 ACs serving some 51,000 members

in three districts by September 1992. The Second Year Report goes on to state:

> A committee (village) is responsible for: location of the night classes, looking after the night classes, organizing the bonded laborers in the community, distribution of subsidized vegetable and potato seeds, organizing voluntary labor for construction of schools well and roads, collection of membership fees, making plans based on local needs and forward them to the Area Committee, and manage and collect money to the local fund. . . Contribution to the fund come from additional member fees, fines for violation of agreed conventions in the village, income from joint work on village land and interests from loans to members. The rules vary from village to village, every committee decides its own rules. (1993, p. 6)

Area Committees (AC) have 11 members who are elected by the Village Committees of that area. ACs supervise economic management of VCs, review requests from VCs for support, coordinate activities at the District level and act as the middle body between Central Committee and the VCs. The ACs also meet once a month in meetings open to the public. In the past two years, each AC has been assigned two paid, project staff who look after administration, coordination and technical matters on a full time basis. Sectoral divisions and assignments within the ACs have also become more systematic, with Sub-Committees to the AC formed and responsible for Education, Kammaiya, Health, Income Generation and other project activities.

The Central Committee (CC) is an 11 member body, with nine positions elected by ACs and two members appointed by the President. The CC is responsible for planning BASE overall activities, interacting with donors (reports,

proposals, administration), and coordinating all the activities between ACs in various districts. In the beginning, the CC handled both programmatic and administrative functions for BASE. In 1993, a Project Office was established with full time paid staff. Sectoral staff work directly under the Project Office to plan, develop, implement, supervise and monitor activities. In addition, two project staff have been placed in each AC, the Area Coordinator overseeing all programs and an Education Assistant, responsible for all educational activities. By 1994, the Project Office was divided into eight sections: Education, Kammaiya, Women Development, Agriculture, Health, Infrastructure Development, Legal Aid and Saving & Credit. The Project Office is responsible for receiving funds from donors and accounting for them, although all resources are channelled to the ACs for implementation. The President, Mr. Dilli Chaudory, oversees both the Project Office and the Central Committee.

As BASE expanded, funds provided by DANIDA under the original three-year proposal were quickly exhausted. In 1993, UNICEF was also requested to provide support 600 adult and children's literacy classes in a cost sharing arrangement with DANIDA and BASE. In July 1993, a new two year "Empowerment of Tharus for Development" proposal was submitted to DANIDA, with an understanding that by 1995, a five-year Plan with DANIDA would be prepared. This two-year proposal restricted itself to five districts with some 600

literacy classes annually. These classes, and the educational aspects of the proposal itself, were developed in close consultation and coordination with UNICEF, which continued to support the non-formal literacy classes and provide other technical and resource inputs. The main project activities were education, Kammaiya system eradication, market oriented enterprises and women development (with income generation and development training). In addition, support for infrastructure and management strengthening, as well as for project staff, were also requested (BASE, 1993a). While the community mobilization and commitment under BASE has been tremendous, the rapid expansions has resulted in weak infrastructure, poor management and often low quality of services. This was highlighted in a 1993 Evaluation of BASE, conducted on behalf of DANIDA by PACT, an INGO active in Nepal (PACT Evaluation of BASE, 1993).

BASE has piloted many creative and practical activities over the past five years. In working with the Kammaiya, BASE has experimented with innovative activities to help them pay off their debts. One initiative is a Kammaiya saving program of "matching rice." Kammaiyas are encouraged to set aside a small bowl of uncooked rice each day. At the end of each month, the rice that has been saved is brought to the BASE Area Committee, which buys the rice at the current market rate. In addition, BASE provides matching funds of 300% or 200%, depending on the condition

of the Kammaiya family. BASE also opens up a bank account for the Kammaiya family with this money. In this way, after a year or so, many Kammaiyas have been able to pay off their debt or to invest in a small plot of land. BASE has also noted that this scheme has reduced drinking among the Kammaiya, who make strong rice liquor in their own homes. The rice which they are saving is taken from brewery consumption and not from the table (BASE, 1993; Field Note #5).

In 1994, with financial support from DANIDA and technical assistance from UNICEF, BASE conducted a detailed household survey of the Kammaiya. This survey covered five Districts and was officially recognized and certified as valid by HMG/N before being conducted. While originally planning a locally generated materials approach to data collection and presentation, the requirements of HMG/N resulted in BASE hiring local Tharu SLC graduates to conduct the survey. The enumerators received a three-day training before canvasing the districts. In total, over 119,000 members of Kammaiya families were identified. Of these, some 56,000 were of the lowest category of Kammaiya; landless and indebted. The results of the survey were a great shock to the government. Started under the Congress government in 1994, the survey was completed and the results shared under the UML government, who has agreed to step up its efforts in land reform, especially for the

Kammaiyas as identified by BASE (BASE, 1995; Chaudory, E., 1994).

In the area of education, BASE has also initiated some very innovative practices. One is the practice of hiring Letter Writers, who are advanced class graduates who have been hired by the AC and paid Rs. 400 per month to conduct correspondence. The primary target group are women who complete the basic class but who don't continue on to advanced classes. The AC letter writers send the first correspondence, a handwritten form letter which asks a few personal questions: what they are doing now; how they are feeling; and if they have any questions or requests from BASE. In addition to replying to the women who answer, the letter writers handle all unsolicited correspondence from village women. In Rautau, AC #4 had received 191 letters in the first 6 months of 1995. Letters from village women to the AC usually describe what the women doing, explain why they aren't studying, and ask questions about a variety of topics and subjects. There are also many requests for books to read or other types of support. LGM materials developed by BASE are also being sent to these women, along with small questionnaires. In addition to hiring literacy graduates as "professional" letter writers, BASE is increasingly using the graduates of its advanced literacy classes as facilitators in its basic literacy program.

It is not surprising that with their liberatory practices on behalf of the oppressed, BASE and its founding

president, Dilli Chaudory, have been at the center of controversy. Dilli was arrested several times in the late 1980s and held in the jail in Dang for various charges. The last time this occurred, the jail was surrounded by several thousand BASE members who were concerned about the health and safety of Dilli. With the official recognition as an NGO and increased donor support, these incidents have stopped. Many landlords and local leaders are still opposed to BASE and local thugs have been used to disrupt literacy classes and intimidate BASE staff on a number of occasions. In recognition of their work, BASE and Dilli received the esteemed Gorkhali Award from King Birendra in 1994, the highest civilian award in the country, for their work on behalf of the Tharu. In addition, Dilli received the 7th annual Reebok Human Rights Award, presented in Boston in October 1994 with a $50,000 prize. What is even more remarkable is the fact that Dilli, who has been active in social work since his early teens, celebrated his 26th birthday in 1995.

As of 1995, BASE is working in six Districts, (Dang, Banke, Bardiya, Kailali, Kanchenpur and Salyan) with membership over 100,000. The main donor of BASE activities continues to be DANIDA, with other resource and technical support provided by UNICEF, Asia Foundation, SCF US, PACT, MS Volunteers, USAID and UNDP.

B. Socio-Cultural Overview

The Tharu people have traditionally lived in the forested lands on the southern edge of the Shiva-lekh Mountain Range in western parts of Nepal and into Uttar Pradesh. Today, they make up approximately 6.5 per cent of the population of Nepal and are one of the most populous ethnic groups in the Terai. Tharus are mainly concentrated in the districts of Bardiya, Kailali, Dang and Kanchenpur. In the east, however, a smaller concentration of Tharus is also found around Bara and Saptari Districts. As a whole, the Tharu are an extremely marginalized and dispossessed people, and who fill the lower rungs of Nepalese socio-economic structure. (Bista, 1985; CBS, 1991; Gurung, H., 1994; Jha, 1993). As with other minority ethnic groups in Nepal, little is known about the Tharu people, their heritage, language or culture. Within the Tharu society, there are distinctive branches dispersed over geographic areas. The most popular belief in Nepal is that Tharus are an indigenous group of Dravidian origin, who inter-married with the Raaja Queens who were forced to flee as refugees after defeat by Muslim invaders in the 1600s. This is supported by a few linguistic similarities as well as peculiar customs among Rana Tharus. The Tourist Association of Nepal describes the Tharu as follows:

> people of Dravidian stock who, however, claim to be of Raajput origin - The women folk are often considered leaders of the Tharu society and are addressed as Raanis, or queens, lends credence to the story that many Raajput women, fleeing in the wake of the Muslim invasion, took shelter in the

> Tharu areas and the present day Tharus may thus have some Raajput blood in them. (1978, p. 200)

Other research points north, supporting the theory that Tharu are really of Mongolian descent. This is supported not only by their physical features and characteristics, as well as religious and cultural practices (Bista, 1989). This has been supported by linguists who sight the un-sanskritized roots of their language, but as no real Tharu language study has been carried out, definitive answers regarding Tharu linguistic roots do not exist (Gauthum & Thupa-Magarr, 1994; Hutt, 1988). The Tharu also follow a Jhat system of clans with endogamous marriage practices similar to other Mongolian cultures in Nepal. In addition, the Tharus have geruas (janikris) serving as village witch doctors and spiritual leaders and follow Animistic practices similar to Tamangs, Gurungs and others (Bista, 1989; Jha, 1993; Field Notes #4). As a tribal group, living in virtual isolation in the malaria infested regions of the western inner-Terai and Terai, little is still known of their origins.

This research supports the theory which places Tharus in the Shakya Kingdom of Kapilvastu, which reigned some 2500 years ago. Lord Buddha was Gauthum Shakya, the Crown Prince of Kapilvastu kingdom, located near Dang Valley. With the fall of the Shakya in Kavilbastu to the Vaijias in the 900s, the Shakyas shifted to the Kathmandu Valley, where they were already a presence as traders and artisans. The Shakya royal family then integrated into the Kathmandu

Newar caste system, even reigning as Newar Kings during the Malla Period. Their subjects and cousins, the Tharu, remained in large numbers in the Terai and hills around Kapilbastu, eventually settling in the Dang Valley. Some Tharus, however, accompanied the Shakyas to Kathmandu. Over a period of some centuries, these Kathmandu Tharus were assimilated into Newari culture and caste structure as "Jyapu," or farmers. This is supported by evidence in the Kathmandu villages around Pharping, south of Patan, where Tharu epigraphs and symbols have been found to support this claim (Bista, 1992; Gauthum & Thopa-Magar, 1994; Himal, 1990; Jha, 1993).

Today, there are six main branches of Tharu. The original or main strain is considered the Dangari Tharu of Dang. The Deusari Tharu of Kapilbastu, Banke and parts of Bardiya are culturally similar to Dangaris, with differences found in dress and in language, which has been influenced by Abhadi language. The Khatauri Tharu of Kailali and Kanchenpur speak a Tharu influenced by Hindi and whose cultural practices are less similar to Dangari. The Rana Tharu are the most unique, speaking a distinctive dialect sometimes incomprehensible to other Tharus, and following cultural practices quite distinct from others. Another Tharu branch is found in the eastern districts. It was not until the late 1970s that this group was even realized to be Tharu. Their language has been extremely influenced by Maithali and Bhojpuri and many cultural

practices are different than the Dangari Tharus. These eastern Kuchila Tharu are thought to have migrated East after the fall of the Kapilbastu kingdom to the Vaijias in the 900s. Confusion still reigns over the different branches of Tharu and their roots. The influence of other cultures of the simple, agrarian Tharu people has further muddied attempts at research. In fact, Jha, in his work on the Terai Community and National Integration asserts that Tharu is not a language at all, but a dialect of Maithali, Bhojpuri and Abadhi, depending upon where the Tharus are living (1993, p. 28).

Tharus today are mainly farmers and land laborers. In two hundred years, their history has been lost in the Gorkha unification. Many Tharu are unaware that there was an independent Tharu kingdom and nation-state structure, based in the Dang Valley in the 1700's. Tharu oral history recalls Kings, the last of which is called Dangisaran, who was defeated by the grandson son of Narayan Shah in the late 1700s. The ruined foundations of an old fort and palace can still be found in Dang as can coins which were minted by the Tharu kingdom, bearing a unique script (Bista, 1989, 1992; Himal, 1994). Once subjugated, the Tharu were used by Nepal's rulers and local elite to till and work their farms. Due to a virulent strand of malaria, called "awl," landlords were absent throughout the monsoon and returned only in the autumn and winter months to oversee the collection of harvest. This was practiced

throughout the 1800s as bureaucrats, appointed by Rana Prime Ministers, oversaw the harvests and the payment of taxes to Kathmandu (Stiller, 1993). In this respect, the Tharu were left relatively alone, somewhat culturally independent, and isolated from development and outside influences.

With the eradication of malaria in the 1960s and the opening of the Terai, however, this changed dramatically. Malaria eradication, especially of the virulent strain called "awl," reduced the number of deaths per year from two million in the 1950s to 2,500 in 1968 (Moran, 1990). This medical breakthrough had a tremendous impact on the Tharu, the Terai and the country as a whole. A vast forest and jungle in the 1950s, it's population was only 2.9 million, or less than 30% of the population. By the 1970s, over 40% of the population was found in the Terai while in 1991, it makes up almost 50% of the country's population (Dahal, 1992; Jha, 1993). This influx was marked by a migration down, with hill peoples shifting to the Terai in search of land. The Rapti Valley Development Project, started in Chitwan District in 1954, was the first major resettlement project. Population in the valley increased from 36,000, mainly Tharu inhabitants, to more than 350,000 by 1960 (Moran, 1990). This was followed by more HMG sponsored resettlement projects.

Large tracts of land were claimed by more educated bahuns, chettris and other groups who shifted down from the

overpopulated hills. This trend was supported by Land Grants under the Resettlement Program. By 1964 the Nepal Resettlement Company was established and the Department of Resettlement of HMG/N was distributing both land, seeds and food grains to migrant farmers. It is interesting to note that while 77,000 hectares of forest land was distributed by HMG/N in the 1960's, an additional 237,000 hectares were cleared illegally and settled on by squatters (Himal, 1990; Jha, 1993; Moran, 1990). As a program under the panchayat regime, the vast majority of good land, usually in large tracts, went to the ruling elite, their families and their friends (afno manche). The effect on the Tharu was tremendous. The majority of Tharus were stripped of their land rights as the choicest pieces of land were quickly seized by well connected elites. As Jha reports in his book:

> The landless people in the Terai were rarely given any land in such resettlement projects . . . So called unclaimed land was often awarded to applicants by the Forest Strengthening Project until 1990 and the end of the panchayat regime. This led to the loss of much Tharu land, some of which had been tilled by the same family for generations but which the Tharus had never registered with the proper authorities. Even public places in native villages were encroached upon as it was unclaimed. (1993, p. 39)

In analyzing the effect of development in Dang on the Tharus, we see an inverse trend. In the less developed period of the Ranas, when malaria was rampant, landlords and overseers were absent for the majority of the year, coming only to participate in the harvest period in October

and staying for a few winter months. Later, as malaria was defeated, landlords started to stay longer. Under the Panchayat system, zemindars, or landlords, were able to live in the valley all year. With the increased migration from the hills, the number of zemindars in the valley greatly increased. This resulted in intense land grabbing away from Tharu families and villages. As a result, the majority of Tharus were forced to work as share croppers or as debt-bonded Kammaiyas. This, in turn, has led to an exodus of Tharu from Dang Valley further west, especially to Bardiya and Kailali districts, where there was lower population density (Bista, 1985; Dahal, 1992; Jha, 1993; Field Note #4).

In the 1980s, more effort was made to give smaller pieces of Terai land to migrants and even to the landless indigenous people through the Land Grant system. In the 1980's, many Tharu from Dang were resettled further west, in Bardiya and Kailali. During this time, poorer high Hindu-Caste migrants from the hills were also resettled on small parcels of land. As can be expected, much of the land given to poor and landless Tharus was of extremely poor quality. While the Terai is often though to be fertile and agriculturally rich, this is true only on some places. In his article "Nepal's Terai: Backwater or new frontier" Himal writes:

> Says Sandra Burton, who surveyed lands for resettlement in far west Nepal. . . in Kailali District, for example, she found that only 9% of the "land available for resettlement" (meaning

forests) was "good rice land" and 23 per cent was suited for diversified cropping. Thus, 68 per cent of the available area was not suitable because of low fertility, flooding hazards or other drainage problems.

In addition to economic oppression, the Tharus as an alcohol drinking, non-Hindu ethnic group like the Tamang, were placed in the lower rungs of the pani chalney, touchable caste system. From a linguistic standpoint, as non-Nepali speakers with no previous experience with education, Tharus do not academically advance themselves. This is still a major setback among Tharus, whose children when enrolled in primary school suffer from high drop-out and where literacy rates as an ethnic group are among the lowest in the country (CBS, 1991; NMIS, 1995). Faced with the difficulties of agrarian life and without access to basic health facilities, life expectancies for Tharus are also low. Deprived of education legal rights and social mobility, the Tharus have been oppressed and victimized.

The most blatant and heinous form of this is the Kammaiya system or bonded labor, which borders on slavery, and which is still practiced by landlords and elites in the Mid and Far Western Terai today. In this practice, a `zamindar'or landlord cum revenue agent, provides a small loan to a Tharu farm laborer, with extremely high interest. Once under debt, the Kammaiya must work for the zamindar or landlord until the debt is repaid. The debt is passed through generations, and there are many instances of three generation Tharu Kammaiya to be found today. If another

zamindar cares to pay off the debt, the Kammaiya family is transferred as his possession. Usually `zamindars'assign Kammaiya families to work specific pieces of land or to look after animal herds. The abuses of Kammaiya girls and women, as well as the life of semi-slavery, without rights or liberties, are hard to believe. What is even more horrifying is the fact that over 100,000 Kammaiyas can still be found today in the five Districts where BASE is working. (BASE, 1993; Chaudhary, 1994; Cox, 1994; Jha, 1992).

Kammaiyas have traditionally been categorized according to the type of labor they perform, with goat herders in one category, cow and buffalo herders in another, vegetable farmers in another and household staff in yet another. These categories have hierarchical status and remuneration in terms of food allotments, clothes and in rare cases, payment of money. It is almost impossible for Kammaiyas to work off their debt as they are illiterate, cannot calculate numbers and are rarely paid in cash. With the high interest rate and fees which the landlord can charge for various reasons, Kammaiyas remain in debt for generations. The lowest category of Kammaiya are the Bukrahi, or wives of Kammaiya laborers, who must assist the landlord in domestic and field work without wages or clothing allowances and only minimal food. The abuses of Bukrahis by their male landlords and masters are

too great to mention (BASE, 1993; Chaudory, 1994; Rajaure, 1981).

Since the emergence of democracy and the loosening of restraints on NGOs, a number of initiatives have initiated for and by Tharus. In the area of Tharu language, there are 8-9 publications of Tharu language in Devanagari script. Some of these were supported by BASE, including a Legal Aid book developed by the Bar Association and translated into Tharu. Facts For Life, a UNICEF health publication, has also been translated but has not been printed in large numbers. Tilwa, meaning "Little Plant" was written by BASE staff and contains many stories, informative articles, poems and songs in Tharu. BASE printed 500 copies which are being sold at a cost of Rs. 16. There has also been a Tharu newspaper, "Ghochole Patrika," which has been published on a yearly basis by Suban Lal Chaudhory since 1987. Under the panchayat system, this newspaper was officially outlawed, though it still managed to be printed and shared with a limited circulation. Several Tharu intellectuals and leaders, including Mahesh Chaudory, an ex-MP from Dang, and Dilli Chandory, the director of BASE, have been acting as advisers with Suban Lal on a project to develop the first Tharu-Nepali dictionary, which may be completed in 1996. Tharu intellectuals agree that Tharu script, as evidenced by excavated coins, has been lost and has no chance of recovery for popular use.

C. BASE in Chaukura Village

Dang is one of six inner Terai districts in Nepal. It consists of a thin southern Terai belt, with the remainder of the district covered by the Siwalik and Mahabarata ranges. These are lower Himalayas ranges with large valleys stretching between them. The original Tharu homeland is considered by Tharus to be Dang Valley. This is the largest valley in Nepal, stretching 32 miles long and 12 miles wide at an elevation of 2,200 feet. While previously a thick forested jungle land, the valley is now deforested farmland. Due to lack of irrigation, there is only one rice crop and one maize crop per year (Rajaure, 1981). The Dang District Headquarters is Gorahi, in the eastern part of the Valley. The BASE main Project Office is in the second major town, Tulsipur, located in the western part of the Valley. The first road into Dang Valley was constructed in 1983 and led from the main east-West highway over the Silawak range into Gorahi, a distance of some 15 miles. Before this time, all transport was by foot or horse.

Chaukura Village is located in Rautau VDC, one of the original 11 VDCs included in BASE's first proposal to DANIDA. It is a 2 hour walk from Tulsipur and is made up of 100% Tharu households. The houses in Chaukura, as typical of most Tharu villages, are made of sun dried earthen bricks which are coated with a mud plaster. The roofs of the houses are either thatch or kiln dried earthen tiles. Most of the houses are two stories, with three rooms per

floor laid out like box-cars. The walls between rooms are actually earthen granaries, large vat like jars in which rice, beans and corn can be stored. Beds are usually wooden frames with rope stretched tightly like a net. These also serve as settees and couches which easily support 3-4 persons. Kitchens are indoors and consist of low earthen wood burning stoves, with shelves to hold spices, utensils and plates, and no running water.

In Chaukura, there are approximately 50 households with a total population of 700-800 persons. While family sizes vary, most households are made up of extended families, cousins, grandparents and aunts and uncles who live and farm together. When BASE first came to Chaukura in 1991, none of the women in the village had attended school or received non-formal education. The health and sanitation conditions of the village were also extremely poor. There were very few families which owned farm land, and those who did had small land holdings of under 1 bika, just enough for a house and a small kitchen garden. In addition, there were 38 Kammaiya in the village. The yearly arrangement of debt between the Kammaiya bonded families and the landlord were held during the Maagh festivals, amid great religious ceremony. The negotiations were held between the zamindar, or landlord and the village headman (maadhu) on behalf of the Kammaiya, and determined levels of interest, required days of work and current level of debt (Bista, 1985; Raujure, 1981).

Sharecropping is still a common practice among Tharu in Chaukura who do not have enough land of their own to farm and survive. The landlord is usually a Brahmin or Chettri who owns a hectare or more of land. Each Tharu household makes an arrangement whereby they exchange labor for the rights to plant and farm some the landlords holdings. One author interviewed, Sita C., described how her family provided the landlord with 3 women days and 8 men days of work per week free, without payment or crop. In return, Sita's family is allowed to sharecrop an allotted portion of the landlords fields. From this land, they split the harvest with the landlord 50/50 (Field Note #5).

BASE started its activities in Chaukura in 1990 with the formation of the Village Committee. A Sub-committee on Education was also established and in October 1990, the first non-formal class was started for unmarried girls. At this time, the facilitators were not paid or trained and there were no plans for any follow up, advanced literacy classes. BASE had yet to receive official NGO status from HMG/N and no donor funds were available. A total of 30 girls started the class and 25 of them completed the course. The five drop-outs left the class due to marriage which caused them to move away from the village. At this time, a women's group was formed and Sub-Committees for Kammaiya and for health care were also started by the Village Committee (BASE 1991; Field Note #5).

In 1991, after the basic course was completed, five of the girls enrolled in Class Four of the nearby primary school, a 30-minute walk away. BASE supported the costs of uniforms and stationary for these girls. One of these five girls was Sundara, author of LGM materials and a 17-year-old, Class Seven student today. In October of 1991, an advanced course was started for the graduates of the basic course. This was attended by 21 girls, some of whom were also enrolled in primary school. This course used Kosalee and Jamarko course book, developed by SCF US and supported by UNICEF. In addition, a Bal Shiksha, out-of-school children's course was also started. Of the 30 children enrolled, 95% completed the course and of these, 70% enrolled in the primary school. In October 1992, two basic literacy courses were started for married women. In these classes, there were only 3-4 drop outs, which were due to illness. The women graduates went on to start a group savings fund, as well as to establish a nursery farm. The women planted many sisal trees around the village as fodder for their animals and have also started a forest re-plantation along the river. Besides planting for the reforestation of their own village, the women's group also sold saplings to other women's groups for fundraising (Field Note #4).

In October 1993, two Bal Shiksha classes were implemented and two advanced classes were started for the women who had completed the basic literacy courses. A

Health Post was also established in the nearby Rautau village, a 15-minute walk from Chaukura, and staffed by a BASE health worker. In 1994, two Advanced class Level Two were conducted using three LGM materials developed by BASE: Sangalo, Paribathan and Bihan. These classes met six times per week for two hours per day, similar to the basic literacy program. In the five years that BASE has been working in Chaukura, an AC Office has been established in Rautau village, a 30-minute walk away. Chaukura itself was selected by BASE as the site of the Central Committee office building, which was constructed in 1993 with local labor and resources on donated land. The building is a two story, typical Tharu structure and is used for the monthly Central Committee meetings, which are attended by the AC members, as well as for other special meetings and training. A dirt road which can be used by bullock carts has been constructed with free community labor from the villages along the way and now runs though Chaukura. The VDC Chairman has recently allocated some of his "development funds" for concrete to construct a bridge over one stream.

While there is still no electricity, there have been many visible changes in Chaukura which have occurred over the past five years. Changes cited by the women villagers included better health for their children and the fact that their daughters are now attending school. The District Health Office has been providing vaccine service through

the BASE health post, which is staffed by two BASE health employees. Immunization coverage in Chaukura is now over 90%. The women also mentioned the fact that their village is much cleaner and more hygienic than in the past. Dankali Chaudory, a 28-year-old mother of four mentioned that in the past, she had no idea that Tulsipur and Gorahi had government offices. Now, she can go to these offices herself. She and other village women are no longer afraid to go to cities and towns and can also talk to shopkeepers and to landlords.

When discussing the changes in Chaukura over the past years, BASE staff added more details. Dilli stated that there were now only two Kammaiya in the village today, and that these were new arrivals to the village recently brought in by one of the landlords. In general, Dilli mentioned that there were fewer zemindar now in Dang because there are fewer bonded laborers to work their land for free. Today, zemindars are beginning to sell parts of their land to Tharu, which Dilli pointed out as another major achievement. More families in Chaukura were buying small additional pieces of land for farming each year. Dilli also explained that the traditional system of having the Maadhu, or village leader, conduct negotiations with landlords on behalf of village Kammaiyas and share croppers was being replaced. Instead, small committees and groups have been formed which bargain collectively with landlords

to receive better terms and payment for their labor (Field Note #6).

Birbal, the Education Coordinator of BASE Project Office and from Chaukura himself, added that over 95% of the houses now had pit latrines. In addition, the women's group had a large amount of revolving credit, which they were using for various activities. Most girls were now in government school. He also mentioned that the villagers no longer drank alcohol in the day time but waited until night before they started to drink their home made `rakshi'. While all the members of the Village Committee, elected four years ago were men, Birbal expected that, after the next election, women would be elected as village committee members and that from some village, women would also be elected as members of the Area Committees.

In the five years that BASE has been working in Chaukura village, there have been numerous changes within BASE as well. In the beginning, there was little forward planning or vision. After the basic literacy courses, there had been little consideration to post-literacy classes or to follow up development activities. By 1992, with technical support from SCF US, a second level to the basic level program was started using Kosalee and Jamarko, SCF publications. This was an ad hoc arrangement without systematic planning or training of facilitators and Chaukura's first advanced class was of this type. The following year, advanced classes were better planned, with

two levels post-literacy courses. This second level, which was started in 1994, used the LGM materials developed by BASE.

D. Development of LGM

Three BASE staff had been sent to the first LGM TOT, conducted by SCF US in Gorkha in April 1992. These staff, responsible for training and education sector activities at that time, helped BASE develop a proposal which was submitted to UNICEF in June of 1993. This proposal planned for a series of five writers workshops, five days in length, covering all BASE working districts. One book would be developed and 5000 copies printed from each workshop, with some of the materials to be developed in Tharu language. As rationale, the brief proposal stated: "To develop relevant local materials which could build learners confidence and honor their local knowledge and also involve learners in life related writing exercises, BASE is going to propose this activity" (BASE, 1993). UNICEF agreed to support the proposal and the first writers workshop was held in Dang in 1993, with Udaya Manandhar of SCF US serving as lead facilitator while Birbal, Nukul and Ek Raj worked as assistants.

A total of 25 women came from Dang, Banke, and Bardiya Districts to join to the five-day workshop, which was held in an AC Office in a village outside of Tulsipur. All the participants had completed the Advanced Class Level One.

They were selected by local supervisors and the AC Education Assistant who had visited classes and chosen women who could read and write well. Birbal, the Education Coordinator for BASE, decided to bring women from different districts together because there was no real opportunities for women to travel to other villages or districts. In this way, the workshop also served as a form of study tour for participants, who exchanged ideas on many issues and increased their awareness about each other's customs and different and grass roots community development initiatives (Field Note #5).

On the first day, in all five workshops, the same basic process and activities were followed. After introductions and a hopes and fears activity, an object writing exercise was conducted. This usually consisted of the facilitators laying a number of objects on a blanket on the floor in clear view of participants. These objects were usually common, everyday articles, including pens, notebooks, letters, combs, religious objects and money. Participants would need to think about one of the objects and then write a story based on it. After giving the women some time to write, the facilitators asked a few participants share their feelings while they were writing. The facilitators then briefly introduced the concept of the writing process. Participants were then asked to read their stories aloud, with the facilitators modelling ways to give feedback. After demonstrating this, the participants were

put in groups of two or three to share their stories and give each other feedback. After this the participants were given time to revise and rewrite their stories before stopping for break.

Throughout the five-day workshops, variations of the object writing exercise were repeated, often using small groups to write the story. BASE also experimented with different types of objects. Fruits, seeds and vegetables were used to generate stories on farming and nutrition. Groups were asked to choose an object and write about growing, harvesting or using it. In one workshop, contraceptive devices were used objects and the groups were asked to write about why or how the devices were used. Nukul KC, a facilitator in three of the writers workshops and a participant in the LGM TOT, described how some of the participants were quite surprised by the family planning devices, some of which they had never seen before. This resulted in a lot of stimulating discussion to the pre-writing exercise. Besides object writing, with a combination of random and purposeful objects, BASE staff also assigned topics during some group writing exercises on which BASE wanted more stories and emphasis.

Besides object writing and writing on assigned topics, free writing exercises, in which participants could write about anything they wanted, were also facilitated throughout the five days. There was never a pre-set curriculum or list of subjects which needed to be covered

in any of BASE's five writers workshops, though there were general topics which BASE wanted to include. As a result, there was opportunity for participants to exercise control over the subject matter of their work. Free writing activities were usually introduced as a group writing activity the first day, after the object writing exercises was completed. In BASE writers workshops, "free writing" activities were always introduced as a group activity, as facilitators felt that it was too difficult to introduce this as a individual writing activity. Nukul describes the participants' typical first encounter with free writing as follows:

> The participants invariably started by saying that they couldn't write, that they didn't have anything to write about. To these comments, we would respond that they had farms and gardens, that they had culture and that they had many other things to write about. Then they thought together in their groups and after some time, they started to write. . . Later, (after a few days) we asked them to do free writing by themselves. This is like personal writing. It was difficult, but some of them were very good with this. (Field Note #5, italicized words mine)

In general, the facilitators felt that the most popular activity was group writing, mentioning that the women liked to write together and were not so confident or comfortable to write alone. Of the five authors interviewed, only one, Sundana, preferred writing alone to group writing. The others all preferred group writing activities. This preference for group writing may be cultural, whereby most activities in the community are done in groups. It may also be due to the fact that this was

their first time in a writers workshop. When describing the personal outcomes of being published authors, many of the women mentioned that they had gained confidence and were no longer afraid to write alone. They also stated that in the future, they felt they could write stories all by themselves.

Common difficulties during the writers workshop which were mentioned included choosing a topic and trying to start a story. Writing about topics which they did not understand or know well was also mentioned as a problem. Sita from Bathutal described the biggest problem in the writers workshop as writing about orange farming. She had never seen an orange tree before and had no idea what to write about. In this respect, Chamaili, a 20 year old mother of two stated: "I liked writing in groups most because it was easier to write with sisters. Personal writing was the most difficult. Then, if the topic and subject is confusing, there is no one to discuss and talk with about what to write."

In developing and revising their stories in groups, the following steps were usually followed. After choosing the topic and discussing the outline and contents of the story (poem, song, etc.), first drafts were written in notebooks. Sometimes this was done by a secretary who wrote the verbal suggestions from others in the group. Other times, each women would write their own first draft, which were then shared and combined within the group to form a

new draft. Once a story had been revised once or twice within the group, it was transferred to large newsprint. This newsprint version of the story was then read aloud and shared in turn with the whole group, who gave feedback on the ideas and the language in the story. With these comments, the small groups would revise and edit their drafts again, transferring the final version back to notebook paper which was collected by the facilitators.

The process of finalizing the books and making ready the camera ready copy evolved over the five writers workshops. In the first workshop, with Udaya Manandhar's presence and active support, the stories were taken back to Kathmandu for finalization before printing. The BASE stories were mixed with the stories developed in a Gorkha district writers workshop by a SCF US staff in Kathmandu, Mr. R. Devkota. This staff person was assigned to select the stories for inclusion in the book from the two writers workshops as well as to do the basic editing for style, vocabulary and grammar. As there were plenty of materials from the two writers workshops, simple criteria were developed and applied to select the stories, including the relevance of the topic to target groups, the use of contemporary situations, and representation from as many different organizations as possible. An illustrator was hired to improve upon the draft illustrations from the workshop and to add additional illustrations as required.

Udaya developed the follow up questions and exercises for each story and laid out each chapter in Kathmandu.

This book, printed as a SCF US publication, was BASE's first attempt at producing LGM and was called "Sangalo." As the final text was combined with stories from a Gorkha writers workshop and was intended for a wider national audience rather than just BASE members, the Tharu dialect was edited out of these stories by editors in Kathmandu. The stories represent participants from seven different NGOs literacy classes who came from six different districts. Sangalo is 32 pages in length, printed with 12 point type print. It is divided into 19 chapters, of which 12 were written during the Dang writers workshop. Each chapter has one LGM story, illustrations and follow up exercises consisting of explanations of difficult vocabulary and questions with space to write answers. The stories ranged from 70 to 220 words in length.

The second workshop was also held in Dang with participants from all five BASE districts. BASE used their own staff as facilitators and the preparation and finalization of the camera ready copy took place in Tulsipur. The book was called, "Paribathan" (Changes), a title that was selected by BASE staff in Tulsipur. Most of the illustrations were drawn by BASE staff, while several drawings made by the participants during the workshop were also included. Three stories were printed in the participants' own handwriting and in five chapters, the

follow up questions and exercises were developed and written by the participants themselves. Photos of the participants writing together are also disbursed throughout the book. In total, of the 36 pages, 40% are devoted to the LGM text, 35% for illustrations and photos and 25% for written exercises. The stories run from 55 words to 250 words in length. The CRC was sent to Kathmandu for printing. The following are the chapters which make up Paribathan:

1. Adult education
2. Women's development
3. Nursery
4. Pit latrine
5. Papaya
6. Jeevan Jel
7. Dhasai Festival
8. Marriage
9. Letter
10. Climate
11. Alcohol
12. Pea Farming
13. Guava
14. Green Vegetable
15. Culture
16. Eating Leftover
17. Gorkhali History
18. Tharu History

19. Village Reading Story (riddles)

20. Poem

When asked why the book had such a wide range of topics, Birbal, the Education Coordinator replied that with a lot of different topics and subjects, the books were more useful for the learners as they could learn many things. As the materials were planned for use in both the advanced classes, and as independent learning materials through the correspondence program, BASE wanted many different topics to be covered. In the remaining three writers workshops, a similar process was followed, with Area Committees taking greater responsibility to prepare final text versions, which were forwarded to Tulsipur for typing and layout.

In a linguistic analysis of Paribathan, it is obvious that it is written in non-standard Nepali. Translators in Kathmandu, hired to transcribe Paribathan into English, were unable to make complete translations of several of the chapters due to the use of Tharu-based expressions and colloquial vocabulary. There are also consistent spelling `errors',whereby the authors spell Nepali words as they are pronounced in the western Terai by Tharus. For example, `garchu'is spelled `garchiou,'as it is pronounced. There are also grammatical mistakes and errors in tense and syntax, but by and large, the level of sophistication and style of the materials are not so sub-standard as to make them impossible to read. In terms of Tharu-based vocabulary and expressions, these are restricted more to the chapters

on Tharu culture, festivals and life stories. In the stories on topics which the authors have been taught, such as Oral Rehydration Therapy and Pit Latrines, the vocabulary is much more mainstream, with some Sanskrit-based vocabulary and fewer local expressions (Field Note #7).

The third workshop, held in Bardiya, was designed to produce a Tharu publication. The idea of a Tharu language text had been included in the original proposal to UNICEF and under the leadership of Ek Raj, the District Committee Coordinator, this workshop was organized. Ek Raj had already collected copies of 10 different Tharu language publications from various sources. He had also taken the lead in translating Facts For Life from Nepali into Tharu. He was very interested to try a Tharu LGM as no text had been previously published in local, spoken Tharu of the people. In his words, "There are no books that use Tharu. . . Nepali, English, Hindi, these dominate Tharu. We feel that Tharu is no good." His objectives for coordinating the Tharu language writers workshop was to wake up the people's minds about the Tharu language. Developing Tharu LGM, he felt, would support Tharu culture and help Tharus realize that their language was good (Field Note #5).

Five authors, who had attended one of the first two writers workshops, were also invited to the third workshop in Bardiya, along with 15 other participants. None of the participants had ever written in Tharu before joining the

writers workshop in Bardiya. In fact, they had never even thought about writing in Tharu before joining the workshop and all felt somewhat intimidated at the prospect. The authors interviewed were unanimous in stating that it was much more difficult to write in Tharu than to write in Nepali. Spelling was a real problem, as was the sound symbol correspondence and lack of Tharu literacy habits. As a result, Tharu required much more time and energy to write. Juni summarizes the difficulties they faced when writing in Tharu: "It was difficult with the pronunciation. Some words are difficult to write. And we have no practice. We have to think more to write in Tharu because we have no habit." Sundara also mentioned that the participants from different places spoke a little different Tharu. This also made it difficult to agree on words and spelling during revision and editing (Field Note #5).

When interviewed, the authors who participated in the Bardiya writers workshop were divided on whether they would prefer to write in Nepali or Tharu in the next writers workshop. Both Juni and Sundara opted for Nepali. Juni felt it was easier while Sundara stated "I like Nepali. I am in Class Seven now. Nepali is more useful." Sita, who agreed that it was more difficult to write in Tharu, said she would prefer to publish again in Tharu if given a chance. "It is good that we are writing Tharu because it is our mother tongue. We want to know and keep it." She said she

would like to write in Tharu about female Kammaiya if she wrote another LGM.

A major issue which the facilitators and editors in BASE faced is that there is no Tharu dictionary. No resource exists which outlines Tharu grammar or the spelling of Tharu in Devanagari script. This difficulty was further compounded by the different types of Tharu dialect represented in the multi-district workshop. In the whole group, when the newsprint version of the second draft of the stories were shared, extra time was spent discussing and analyzing spelling with the participants. This helped in keeping the orthography consistent. None-the-less, dialect and word choice are somewhat arbitrary. The stories in the published text, called Bihan, consists of primarily Deusari but also some Dangari Tharu, though the book is legible by Tharus in all western districts where it has been used. Ek Raj, who finalized the camera-ready copy, stated that there was some editing of Bihan after the workshop, including the changing some regional vocabulary and modification of some non-Deusari dialect. Spelling is not consistent throughout the book. The chapters of Bihan are:

1. Education
2. Multiple marriage
3. Sanitation
4. Cow
5. Family Planning

6. Group Power
7. Our Tharu Society
8. Kammaiya
9. Mango
10. Social Worker
11. Letter
12. Sita's story
13. Kalpurna's Story

E. Use of LGM

The final version of the Sangalo, the first BASE LGM, was developed, printed and distributed by SCF US in early 1994. SCF US printed 6,000 copies of Sangalo, which was distributed mainly to BASE and to a few other NGOs at cost price. BASE received 4,000 copies which were used in two ways. At first, Sangalo was introduced in an ad hoc manner into on-going advanced literacy classes. In 1993, there was only one level of advanced classes, which used the Kosalee and Jamarko books of SCF US. BASE distributed a few copies of Sangalo to each of these advanced classes for the participants to read and share. Copies of Sangalo were also sent out through the letter writing section of the Area Committees to women who are unable to attend advanced literacy classes but who wanted reading materials. In responding to their correspondence, the Area Committee letter writers would enclose a copy of Sangalo, along with a simple questionnaire for the reader to answer and return.

Later, when more LGM materials were available, and as the women graduates of the advanced classes demanded further study BASE implemented the Advanced Class Level Two, using LGM texts from the different writers' workshops (Field Note, #5).

The following is excerpt from a story in Sangalo called "Women's Problems" which was written Dhan Kumari, Padam Kumari, Vishnu Maya and Sunita:

> A women is uneducated and backward. Women are part of society. We are all women: daughter, girl, mother, wife and sister. . . Day or night, the daughter has to do all the household chores. The son wakes up at 8:00, eats good food and sits to study. During the daytime he goes to school whereas the daughter goes to cut firewood and grass on an empty stomach. In this way, in society, a woman is tied down with work. She cannot go where she wants and lives a life of grief and fear. She gets married at a very young age and goes to live in someone else's house where her sorrow and responsibilities multiply.

This story is followed up by three pages of follow up exercises and discussion questions. Some of these include; What work do you do at home?; Why don't we educate our daughters in the village?; what could be solutions for the progress of women? Additional, short written passages on Nepalese Law and women, on the unity of women and on examples of successful women were developed by SCF US in Kathmandu and included in the exercise pages. This chapter was popular with the women readers interviewed. The first sentence of the story, however, never fails to elicit a strong critical reaction from the educated Nepalese who have read the story. In the terms of these Kathmandu based

readers, the phrasing is too strong and "shouldn't be written" as it misrepresents the "true" situation.

Paribathan was printed by BASE in mid-1994. This book, as mentioned earlier, used stories developed in the second five day writers workshop held, in Dang and attended by graduates of BASE advanced classes from five different districts. The illustrations are less professional looking than Sangalo's and there are nine photos of authors writing scattered throughout the text. According to BASE staff, photos are extremely popular with the readers who enjoy seeing the Tharu village women who are the authors of the books. The following excerpt from a story called "Tharu History" was written by Sapati Kumari, Raas Kumari and Chokan Kumari and describes the history of Dang Valley.

> Earlier, people coming from the hills were prone to malaria . . . they could not stay in Dang. Dang used to have a lot of Tharu population. Now, people from the hills are migrating to the Terai. Initially, Dang had no hill people but now there are plenty . . . Our parents were illiterate and they could not educate their children. As a result we are a backward class. If our parents had educated us right from childhood, our lives, which are a dull rigmarole, would have been more progressive. . . our forefathers were hired laborers. BASE has introduced night classes in various villages and we can somewhat stand on our own now.

This one page story is followed by a single discussion question, which asks how many other organizations like BASE are working near their villages and to describe their activities. Chapter 19 of Paribathan is entitled Folk Riddles, and is made up of 15 riddles. The answers are written upside down on the bottom of the second page. Two

examples are "After producing an offspring, the mother dies. What is it? (banana). and "Silver coins in a red purse. What is it? (red chili). The chapter called Gorkhali History tells of a prince who is betrayed by his princess to a terrible demon. After his death, the prince still manages his revenge and the princess is eaten. The follow up exercises ask the readers for the moral of the tale and if they can think of a similar story from their own village. As BASE was now sure of the popularity and usefulness of the LGM materials, it printed 6,000 copies of Paribathan. These books were planned for use in the advanced Level Two classes which were implemented in an organized and expanded fashion in November, 1994.

Shortly after Paribathan was completed, Bihani was sent to the press for printing. The organization of the writers workshop, as well as the preparation of the finalized material was the responsibility of the District Committee. Bihan was developed in Bardiya, and as mentioned earlier, was a Tharu language publication. This was the first published text in the common spoken Tharu of the village. The illustrations are made by both BASE staff and participants. There are no handwritten stories, though several illustration contain handwritten labels and explanations. The chapter on Oral Rehydration Therapy has an illustration of the Jeevan Jel packet drawn by the participants with the directions for use clearly written on the packet in the authors own hand.

The final two chapters of the book are autobiographical, personal histories by two participants. Sita's Story was written by Sita Chaudory, a participant from Bathutal village in Bardiya:

> My name is Sita Chaudory. My house is in Bheri Zone, Bardiya District, Mohtipur VDC, Ward #2, Bhatuatal Village. I was born in Dang . . . I am 21 years old. . . I am the first daughter and my life is full of sadness. . . When I was 10 months old, I lost my mother. I am the daughter of a poor family and my father and grandmother cared for me. At that time, I felt my mother is my grandmother. . . In 2035 (1980), there were a lot of landlords who asked for a lot of free work. We couldn't give free work and our capacity was the lowest. We had a big problem to eat. So we left Dang. That time we reached Bardiya and land reform (suban basi) gives us 15 katha of land (20 katha = 1 bikas). . . Our society and tradition believes our daughter doesn't need to read. When village children went to school, and took their bags of books, I also wanted to go to school. When my age came to go to school, my father sent me to shepherd cows. I do not have a mother so I cannot tell my father anything. . . Then my grandmother died. She took care of me when I was 10 months, but I didn't have knowledge to care for her and she died. We have a poor and sad family and my life didn't have satisfaction. When BASE came to our village, in the daytime, the whole time, I was in my work. During our sleeping time, I went to night class. I studied in NFE class and then I knew my name, my village name, and other things I learnt. . . Now, I am a facilitator of literacy class. . . My thinking is not only facilitator. I am thinking about other technical knowledge and skills also.

In interviews with five authors of BASE LGM, they unanimously felt that being a published author had brought changes to their lives. Juni Kumari is 18 years old, unmarried and an author of two stories in Bihani. She has completed the advanced Level Two course but has no plans to

enter the formal school system. Her description of the changes in her life since being published are typical.

> I feel different. I feel better, but I don't have an example. People treat me different in the village too, but I can't think of examples. . . Before, I was not so confident to write, but now I think I can write more books. . . Before, I was afraid to speak in a meeting, or to speak with men, but not anymore.

Sundara from Chaukura village had this to say:

> The village treats me differently. They asked me how to write the book and a few women have wanted to learn how to write their names and I have taught them. The village is happy because they have a writer here. . . After the book was published, my family liked to read my story. My brothers and sisters read it many times and my mother liked to look at the picture on the cover of the book. I read my story to my mother many times.

When asked if the stories published in the books were really their stories, the authors all said that some words which were "wrong" had been changed, and they were happy for this. Only Juni made a point of saying that the story was different. "I wrote in Dangari Tharu, but here they use Deusari Tharu words. They changed the story." Ek Raj, who had accompanied me as translator and the lead facilitator of the workshop smiled and added "She's not happy, but she says it is okay." Ek Raj mentioned after that because Bihan had been developed in Bardiya, Deusari Tharu was most common among participants. As Juni spoke Dangari Tharu, some of her terms had been changed to make them more comprehensible to Deusari Tharu readers.

The authors were also asked why they thought Base did this type of activity and used village women to write

books. Sita answered quickly that it was easier for BASE staff if the women wrote the stories because they don't like to work hard. This was followed by great laughter from everyone. She went on to add that BASE did this to help the women keep their writing habit. In a different interview, Sundara thought BASE had used LGM for the following reasons: "To get message in a simple way. . . to help put ideas in a way that people can understand. This kind if book is the same as me, people are feeling. They are aware that they know things."

Twelve participants from Dang and Bardiya districts who had completed the advanced level two course using LGM were also interviewed. All of these women strongly felt that the LGM materials ("BASE books") were easier to read, more relevant and more interesting than the other materials which they had used in their classes ("Kathmandu books") Several of the women mentioned that they were happy for their village, because women from their community had written books that others were reading. Their responses to why BASE had developed this kind of materials were similar to the answers of the authors. Several of the women mentioned that BASE helping to create a reading and writing situation for them. This response from Dhankali, a 28 year old mother of four, was the most common type of answer given by the women

> Because we have working experience which we can share with others. . . BASE books (LGM) are local subject matter. They are concerned about village

matter. Other Kathmandu books are about general matter so they are not so useful.

In interviewing the women readers of the LGM, it was difficult to clearly determine specific outcomes and impacts of the LGM materials and process. Differentiating between LGM and the other developmental and motivational outcomes of the BASE program and the community as a whole is almost impossible. Bimala, an older women in the group, in her late 30's, was quiet through most of the group discussion. To this question about the impacts of the LGM materials, however, she did speak:

> Before only educated people used family planning but now, after we read in Bihani, all of us are starting to use. . . We have motivation from BASE books. We want to try to do like our sisters have in the books. We want to follow them. We don't feel like this with Kathmandu books.

Putali, an advanced level two graduate from Chaukura and a mother of two said that her favorite story was "Sanitation" from Bihan. Even though she had read and discussed about sanitation and keeping clean many times in the literacy program, she felt that women in her village saw things differently after reading LGM books. In her words,

> At first, I didn't understand why sanitation was important. Now we realize that disease comes from dirty things. We really learned this from Bihan. Now, we clean our village together, especially during the rainy season.

The readers were also questioned regarding Tharu and Nepali preference. Of the 12 readers, only two wanted to get more books in Nepali. These two were younger women, 16

and 17 years old, who were attending formal school in Class Seven. The other 10 women wanted more Tharu books, which they felt were easier to read and understand. None of these women had attended formal school or had any ambitions to do so. While all of them could speak some Nepali, they unanimously felt that reading Nepali was more difficult than reading in Tharu. While none of them had ever written in Tharu, however, they felt that this would be more difficult than writing in Nepali. Piari from Chiukura, a mother of two who had never attended formal school, summarizes the readers' responses to reading in Tharu.

> It was a little bit difficult to read the Tharu book the first time, but after we read, we are very happy because this is our culture and our people. We want more Tharu books. One language is good - Nepali, but because we don't speak Nepali, Tharu books are better.

The BASE staff who were most closely involved in facilitating the writers workshops and producing LGM products were the three staff who had attended the original LGM in Gorkha in 1992. They were interviewed separately. When asked what he felt were the best aspects of the LGM experience in BASE, Ek Raj mentioned three things: that LGM tests how much knowledge the participants have; that it is good for the habit of writing; and that participants feel good about their writing. Ek Raj was especially interested in applying LGM to Tharu, where he felt more emphasis was needed to support the actual use of the Tharu language in script. None-the-less, Ek Raj also stated that there was a need for more books, especially on health and

legal aid. He was keen to use LGM methods to develop a series of texts on specific topics, with several volumes devoted to each. This is in contrast to the types of composite books which BASE now produces. He also mentioned that in future,"We need to make books especially of Rana Tharu, or of other types of Tharu. Each district can make their own books, not all districts coming for one book."

Nukul, who also attended the Gorkha TOT, is currently the coordinator of the Health Programs for BASE Project Office. Nukul emphasized the product aspect of the LGM method. In his mind, the materials themselves were having a great impact on reader behavior and were extremely popular. He felt LGM were more relevant culturally and contained more practical content than other available materials. An example he gave was that the standard weights and measures given in Kathmandu publications were of hill origin and meaningless to the Tharu. He also stated that the LGM books were very important for the Tharu language. Everyone in the districts who has heard about Bihan, he added, wants to read it and are excited by the idea of Tharu books. Nukul is interested to see additional Tharu and Tharu-Nepali books being developed on specific topics related to health. He also in concerned to improve the quality of future LGM books and to make them more attractive, especially the illustrations.

In June of 1995, the fourth LGM publication, Paribathan II, was printed in Kathmandu. It is a Nepali LGM

which was developed in a writers workshop organized by the Kailali District Committee. In Kanchenpur, a writers workshop was held in July and a new Tharu LGM publication will be finished printing in September 1995. These books will be added to the advanced literacy classes being started in November 1995.

CHAPTER VIII

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

A. Introduction

In examining the literacy programs being implemented by all three organizations in the case studies, we find that reading, writing and the acquisition of literacy skills is not a goal in and of itself. Non-formal adult literacy classes are conceived as an entry point activity on which the process of community development can be based or reinforced. The LGM activities, in all cases, were conceived as supporting larger community development goals, rather than as a method for literacy acquisition or retention. In this regards, the product and its use were given more attention and comparative importance than the process of developing the texts or the use of LGM methods for literacy acquisition and retention. The teaching and improvement of writing skills was restricted to those few participants in the writers' workshops and was considered a secondary outcome. The primary objective of having new literates write was to produce quality stories on community development themes, which would be transferred by readers into actions and positive change in their lives.

All three cases state that the objectives for the use of the LGM involve reinforcing the development themes and messages of their programs. In this respect, LGM is primarily viewed as a potential bridge for changing reader

behavior. Stories on successful community based development schemes implemented by the authors, and on their beliefs on the importance of various development messages, make up the bulk of the content in these LGM products. In the case of World Education, stories are focussed solely on health topics, which had been determined by the project staff before the writers' workshop. Each volume of the HEAL Phase Three materials concentrates on a specific health theme or concern. While the materials are still entertaining, with songs, poems and humorous stories throughout, there is no content outside the prescribed health topics.

In the case of ACAP, writers workshops were initiated as a means of developing materials on the conservation development theme. All the 10 chapters of the first volume present the key ACAP messages, written in the women's own words. The second volume of Samrakchan, however, with the objective of broadening the content matter and the readership, includes more entertaining, human interest stories. During the second writers' workshops, authors had more liberty and control in choosing the topics on which they wrote. BASE, with its additional objective to promote and preserve Tharu culture and history, has a mixture or development themes and entertainment in each of its LGM texts. In their second LGM text, Paribathan, there are chapters comprised of riddles, moral stories, Tharu history and cultural festivals. In discussing this with Tharu

readers, these stories were more popular than the stories written on specific development messages.

All three case studies, as part of the stress on product over process, placed more attention on creating the end product, published texts, than on the writing process and the publishing experience. The primary goal of all the cases is to use LGM activities as a means to produce reading materials which could be used in the program. In none of the cases did the programs integrate the writing process into the basic literacy course, and Big Books and the Language Experience Approach have not been introduced. LGM activities were restricted to writing workshops which resulted in the production of texts. Successful participants from the literacy programs were gathered for this special event, which resulted in publications.

In all cases, the organizers believed that LGM texts would be more relevant and of greater interest to village readers than those texts prepared by specialists. There was also a belief, or hope, that the materials would motivate the readers to take action in their own lives. Action, in the most common sense, concerned community development activities or personal habits, such as hygiene and health. By producing success stories and explanations of development messages by target group members, in their own words, the organizers hoped that there would be a motivating or convincing effect, which would in turn lead to acceptance and practice by the readers. Mothers taking

children to be immunized, the correct and timely use of Jeevan Jel and pit latrine construction, are examples of the outcomes expected from LGM. In this respect, the LGM texts have proven successful in incorporating development content, which leads to readers changing their behavior.

In its funding proposal for LGM, BASE also included as an objective, "building learners confidence and honoring local knowledge." The LGM process and product was viewed by BASE staff as a potential tool for the empowerment of readers and writers. Using LGM activities as an explicit tool for action research or social transformation, however, was not explicitly stated or planned in the other cases. ACAP did have an "action-research cycle" in mind when developing some of its follow up exercises to the materials, asking readers to collectively assess their own situation, plan an action and act. Social change was envisioned in terms of community development, not in the critical sense of social transformation or structural change. In all cases, the materials have also been prepared for horizontal exchange, by village writers for village readers. Vertical exchange, between the village writers and district leaders, central authorities, policy makers and the press (general public), was not planned.

B. General Findings

In categorizing and analyzing the general findings and commonalities in the theory and practice of the three case

studies, we will use the rationale for LGM as presented in Chapter Three: process, product and participatory action.

1. Process

As mentioned, in all the three cases, LGM activities were conceived in terms of production of post-literacy materials which could be read by new literates. In this respect, this section will be limited to the process followed in developing the LGM texts. The process itself was limited to special events, organized for literacy class graduates who were identified as 'good' writers. All three cases followed the same general process to produce materials, using a writers' workshop of 3-5 days in length. In the three cases, the participants were selected for their proficiency in reading and writing as exhibited during their participation the basic or advanced literacy courses. Local supervisors and office staff visited classes to select participants. There are instances, however, in both World Education and ACAP, of participants who joined the writers' workshops, who were barely able to read and write. These participants were still very active throughout the workshop, participating in terms of discussion, idea generation, story development and feedback for editing.

The general themes and topics of the writers' workshops were usually formulated by the organization prior to the writers' workshop. In the case of World Education, the specific content matter to be covered by the materials

were determined before the method of writers' workshop was chosen as the process. On the first day of the writers' workshop, participants were informed of the general topics on which they would be writing. Similarly, in their first writers' workshop, ACAP was only interested in developing materials on the theme of conservation development. Key topics and specific themes were discussed and planned beforehand, but the participants were given the opportunity to brainstorm for themselves the list of conservation development topics on which they wanted to write. In their second writers' workshops, however, ACAP had no fixed topics, in keeping with the much broader goal of developing interesting reading materials. BASE had broad themes and issues which it wanted to cover in the LGM texts, such as Kammaiya, women's development and health. This influenced some of the objects chosen for the object-writing activities and resulted in specific topics being assigned during other writing activities. BASE, however, also organized "free writing" activities during the writers' workshops, where participants, in groups or individually, could write on any topic of their choice. This resulted in a wide range of stories and topics appearing in their LGM publications, including personal biographies, descriptions of cultural events, story telling, and riddles.

In general, the most popular activities during the writers' workshops involved group writing. Participants greatly favored group writing exercises, feeling the group

writing was easier and less stressful. Lokhi Maya Bista, a writer from Makwanpur, provides a typical response on this preference. "At first, I was afraid on how to write . . . but I felt great as we were in a group. We could discuss among ourselves. (Field Note 1, p.3). In only a few instances did the authors interviewed state their a preference for personal or individual writing. Among the BASE authors interviewed was a young woman who, Sundana, who was now in Class Seven, and who stated that writing alone was easier and better practice. Among the ACAP authors, the two Kami untouchable authors interviewed both expressed their preference for individual over group writing. The obvious factor would appear to be caste, and the facilitators reported later these women were not treated as equals by the Gurung women or integrated in the smaller writing groups during the writers' workshop (Field Note #1).

The most popular and productive activities during the writers' workshops, according to resource persons and participants both, were those which involved competition between groups. For example, ACAP asked each group to write five sentences for, and five sentences against, a specific concept or action. The first team to complete the 10 sentences was declared the winner, while the whole group later chose sentences from each group to put into a story. Another competition from World Education involved writing songs about a specific health topic. Each group was given

30 minutes to compose their songs, which they then sang. The whole group would agree on the best song, which would be included in the final texts. These activities, based on cooperative learning principles, led to fun camaraderie and constructive writing.

Another commonality in the writers' workshops was the emphasis on pre-writing activities. This often took the form of a resource person leading whole group discussions. In the case of World Education, resource persons were invited from the health post to review specific health topics in detail, such as family planning, before the participants were asked to write. After discussing the topic, World Education staff reported that the women were then able write more confidently and in an informed manner (Field Notebook #3). ACAP also used group discussion and facilitator guided reviews of technical and abstract conservation development topics as a means of preparing participants to write on technical topics, such as the water cycle and family planning.

Pre-writing also took the form of poster discussions, with resource persons asking analytical questions about an illustration before asking participants to write their first draft. All three cases also used role plays, setting up a dramatic situation and then asking volunteers to spontaneously act out the scene. The spectators would critique the role play before the participants began to write it down. Problem trees and brainstorming were also

used as a means of generating key words, phrases and concepts during pre-writing. The resource person could then write these on the board for the participants to refer to when developing the first drafts.

In describing the difficulties they experienced during the writers' workshop, the authors interviewed in the cases agreed on two main areas: getting started and writing about topics which they didn't know much about. In the first, these Nepali authors are not alone in feeling that starting to write is the most difficult part. Similar difficulties are reported by adult writers in the United States. Peter Elbow dedicates large sections of his writing guidebooks for adults to the issue of getting started, which he has found to be the most difficult part of writing (Elbow, 1973, 1981). This is supported by Kazemak (1974) and Gillespie (1991), who have found that adult basic literacy students in the United States also feel that first drafts are the most intimidating part of writing. Their research has found that these writers feel that if it isn't spelt correctly, it can't be good writing. Tremendous effort is centered on using the correct form, even in first drafts, increasing the anxiety surrounding the act of writing.

The other area mentioned by the authors as being difficult focussed on the lack of familiarity with the content. Eight of the authors interviewed described the difficulty of being assigned topics which they didn't know much about. This may be inevitable in workshops where the

content themes are decided organizationally, unless the participants are specifically selected based on their knowledge and proficiency in that theme. In all cases, however, the resource persons resorted to activities where participants were assigned a topic without any choice in the matter. This required that resource persons spent time discussing and explaining the basic content and sharing information on the topics with the authors. When writing about familiar topics with which they had first hand experience, or when they could choose from several topics, the participants in the writers' workshops stated that the writing was much easier.

Another issue involved providing each other feedback and group editing. Udaya Manandhar, who participated as a trainer in both ACAP and BASE writers' workshops, described the difficulties in getting the participants to share and provide feedback to each other. The most common feedback given by participants was "raamro", meaning good. Critical comments and suggestions of substance, according to Udaya, are not considered culturally appropriate or polite, and participants were hesitant to give real feedback. In his opinion, participants who had attended a previous writers' workshop were better able to give critical comments to other's texts. This is something that BASE staff also found. In later writers' workshops, when several participants had joined for a second time, BASE staff commented that there was greater author participation in

editing and finalization of materials. This they attributed to the presence of these experienced participants, who knew the importance of feedback and sharing in developing good stories (Field Note #5).

Facilitators in the writers' workshops also expressed the importance of the illustrator during the writers' workshop. World Education staff mentioned that during the story development process, the illustrations added cohesiveness to the text. Based on illustrations, the participants wrote more, filling in details in the story as drawings were added. The chance to see illustrations to one's story during the workshops also served to convince the writers that a book was really being developed. This increased motivation and the intensity of the writing (Field Notebook, #1). ACAP staff and one of the authors also spoke of the motivating effect of seeing two draft chapters on the second day of the writers' workshop. The stories, in typed form, along with roughly sketched illustrations and handwritten exercises, were laid out and shown to the participants, resulting in heightened energies among the soon to be published participants.

In reference to the process of editing the LGM and participant involvement in the process, there were varying degrees of this in the three cases. World Education staff had the highest level of staff control and decision making in the editing and finalization of the texts. Newsprint was used during the writers' workshop for authors to share

drafts with the whole group for feedback on the content aspects, with additional sentences and ideas being generated from the whole group. Based on this content feedback, second or third drafts were written and collected by facilitators and later taken to Kathmandu. Feedback and sharing, owing to time constraints, did not focus on the editing of language or style. This level of editing and revision was left to the workshop organizers and World Education staff to complete in Kathmandu. There additional stories were written and added to the LGM stories, and the materials finalized.

ACAP and BASE both tried to restrict their editing of texts to the writers' workshop itself. Staff did not make any major editorial changes before sending the stories off for printing. ACAP used small group exercises for the participants to self edit their stories, then asked groups to exchange their drafts for comments and feedback on the general content. Later drafts were written by small groups on newsprint and then shared with the whole group for final editing. Discussion here focussed on the style, grammar, syntax and spelling, which the small group incorporated into their final draft. This process was the result of a conscious decision by ACAP not to edit the LGM stories after the workshop. ACAP staff were non-directive in the process, and the spelling or syntax throughout the stories are inconsistent. All layout and formatting, however, as

well as the exercises, were developed and finalized by ACAP staff.

BASE followed a similar process to ACAP, with early drafts shared between groups and with the whole group for content feedback. Later drafts were copied onto newsprint for the purpose of editing with the whole group. To develop "Bihan," the first LGM text in Tharu language, the participants and facilitators spent considerable time to analyze and discuss spelling and to reconcile differences in terminology and pronunciation. This was possible in part because BASE organized the workshops for five days, which allowed for extra time to be spent in this process. As Tharu does not have a dictionary, and as the participants spoke different dialects of Tharu, the facilitators of the workshop felt that it was essential to spend this time in group editing.

While both BASE and ACAP made minimal changes to the participants' final drafts, and in some cases, printed these in the author's own handwriting, they did not explicitly discuss issues and ramifications of editing with the participants. Editing was a more natural process, where participants worked to their own level, with the organizers facilitating the process, not leading it. The issue of standardizing the language in the texts was never raised, and there are many inconsistencies in the spelling of local terms. Discussions on the political nature of editing, on the use of spoken dialect, or on the implications of style

and syntax, did not take place and were not initiated by facilitators.

In none of the three cases were advanced copies or dummy sets of the materials shared with the participants at the conclusion of the writers' workshops although ACAP did share two draft chapters in their second writers' workshop. Participants received copies of their work only after they had been officially finalized and printed. In some cases, this took almost one year. In western literature on writers' workshops, emphasis is given to providing participants with copies of their work at the conclusion of the writers' workshop, either photocopies, lithographs or their own handwritten versions. This is done primarily to provide participants with a tangible and immediate return on their efforts invested in the workshop (ALBSU, 1983; Gillespie, 1990; Meyers, 1991). This process also allows participants to have more decision-making power in the illustrations, layout and format of the materials. In writers' workshops in Nepal, only SCF US consistently uses portable lithograph machines to print runs of 100-200 copies of texts during the writers' workshops.

2. Product

As stated, the main objective for initiating LGM activities in each of the cases was to develop materials which would fulfill the programs' development goals. The objectives for the use of these materials, however,

differed. In the case of ACAP, there were no relevant or useful materials available on conservation. The LGM products were intended for use by adult basic literacy graduates to provide a link between literacy classes and village-based, conservation development activities. With World Education, Phase Three, self-learning health materials were needed, and writers' workshops with literacy class graduates were proposed by the Coordinator of the project as a method for their development. The materials themselves were planned to reinforce reading and writing habits and to promote the major health messages in the HEAL project area. BASE, in its proposal to UNICEF, sought to develop materials that were relevant to the development of Tharu people and which would also "honor local knowledge" and build confidence among readers.

Unanimously, all 28 of the readers interviewed preferred the LGM texts when compared to other non-formal textbooks and extension materials which they had read. LGM texts were referred to by readers as 'our books', 'village books' or 'ACAP/BASE books' as contrasted to 'Kathmandu books', such as Kosalee, Jamarko and Naya Goreto. While still calling Kathmandu books good, all the readers stated that they preferred reading LGM texts. The most common reason given for the popularity of the LGM books was that they were easy to read. The language was described repeatedly as 'simple', 'easy' and 'using our words' by village women readers in all three case studies. Many of

the readers interviewed also described how they re-read LGM materials, while none of the readers responded that they had re-read their other post-literacy course books. The authors also described the popularity of the books in their own households, and how often the books had been read by, and to, a wide audience in their homes.

Besides the accessible language and familiar style, content was also raised by readers as a major reason for preferring LGM texts. Over 70% of the readers interviewed (20 of the 28), mentioned the 'usefulness' of topics, that stories were 'practical' and about 'real things'. There was a general consensus among the respondents that the materials were interesting to read because of their relevance. A typical response comes from Kanche Maya Sangthang of Makwanpur: "The books have everything about our village, nothing unrelated is written." In a similar vein, Bal Kumari Gurung preferred Samrakchan: "because it is really about daily life problems. It is useful and realistic. I can use what I read. . . It's a good book."

In the BASE and ACAP materials, the text is written in the spoken Nepali of the local women. The stories abound in local vocabulary and colloquial expressions. The readers interviewed also reported feeling easy with the use of local terms and phrases. References were also made by several readers to familiar place names and local context as reasons why they preferred the LGM texts. Tharu readers mentioned that their weights and measures are different

than those of Kathmandu and the hills, which made their LGM texts more comprehensible. Specific references were also made to the knowing the author, or the authors village or a place reference in a story, as reasons for liking the LGM texts.

The spoken Nepali dialect of these authors is non-standard, and full of grammatical errors, incorrect tense shifts and slang. Their stories and the LGM texts reflect this. None of the women interviewed, however, considered this spoken language in written form as bad or as a problem. In answering which were better books, the LGM texts or Kathmandu publications Sita Chaudory provided the following response, which was typical of the other 11 authors:

> If we mix Tharu and Nepali together than it is easier for us to read. Tharu culture is also in the book - it is better for us to read. Our books are better because they make sense to us. . . The Kathmandu person doesn't understand all of the situation of the Terai. They don't understand . . . don't give reality to the stories. Our books give reality. In farming also, Kathmandu doesn't understand our way. (Field Note #5)

Certainly, the LGM materials are all written in non-standard Nepali. In the case of BASE and ACAP materials, there are spelling errors and obvious grammar mistakes, especially in syntax and verb tense. What is less certain, however, is the negative ramifications of such non-standard publications. Udaya Manandhar of SCF US addresses this issue when he said, in an interview in August 1995, that none of the SCF US readers he had met, or the readers in

other NGO programs, had ever mentioned the grammar and spelling in negative terms. Similarly in my research, the readers interviewed responded to my questions about grammar and spelling by saying that this is the way they talked, so that the language was easy to understand. To the readers, the content utility and accessibility of language appear to outweigh the sub-standard, 'incorrect' nature of the form. Women liked reading the books and did not appear to care about spelling and grammar.

Whether or not such sub-standard publications will lead to general decline in the Nepali language, fostering bad habits and incorrect usage, has yet to be proven. In the case of Nepal, where print environments are scarce in rural areas and where reading habits are lacking, LGM text appear to provide stimulation and interesting materials. The readers themselves, in each of the cases, mentioned that they re-read LGM texts, something they would be unlikely to do if they felt the texts were linguistically deficient. It may be that after some time, with further exposure to LGM texts, readership taste and appreciation of form may evolve. Over time, grammar and syntax may matter more to readers and to future authors, who may want to spend more time in writers' workshops editing their texts before publication. At this time, however, concern over standard usage and the need to edit the LGM texts upwards appears to be premature.

In the case of World Education, LGM stories were collected by the resource persons after the second draft, or third draft at the most, and taken back to Kathmandu for extensive editing. World Education staff then developed additional stories to complete the 12 volumes of the Phase Three HEAL materials. It is interesting that both stylistically and linguistically, there is little difference between the stories developed initially in the writers' workshops and those written completely by professionals in Kathmandu. In fact, none of the readers interviewed in Makwanpur could tell the difference. This is a combination of the LGM materials being edited and the skill of the professional writers in Kathmandu to match their writing to that of the village authors. In interviewing the women authors in Makwanpur, while half did notice that their texts had been changed, none of them commented or complained that the stories were no longer theirs or were not as good as the original version. As mentioned, this could be due in part to the skill of the World Education staff, as well as to the fact that the target group has never been exposed to locally developed materials, so that the Phase Three materials were perceived as very local indeed.

In considering the level of learner participation in the process of editing and finalizing the texts, another issue involves the use of participants' handwriting. In interviews with the readers and authors, handwritten parts

of Paribathan, an LGM text from BASE, were shown. When asked their opinion of the handwritten stories most of the readers stated a preference for typed stories (some 8 of the 12 readers asked), although this preference was not so strong. Bishnu Kumari gives a typical answer regarding her preference, "High class educated people can read handwriting but for lower educated people, handwriting can be difficult. Type is easier to read, but both are fine." (Field Note #3). For the authors interviewed, however, there was definite preference for type. Santi Bika's response was typical: "Type looks better and is easier to read. Both are good. The hand writer worked very hard to write this, so I appreciate. My handwriting may be difficult to read. I'm happy to have type in my story" (Field Note #4).

The published LGM texts were all designed for use in non-formal advanced literacy classes. The chapter designs are standard in their format, with illustrated LGM stories followed by questions for discussion or written answers. The stories themselves are comprised of a variety of styles, including poems, songs, stories, dialogues, articles and riddles, with topic matter that touches sacred and profane, development messages and pure entertainment, personal and national. As mentioned, most content was related to development messages, which had been identified by the organization, though the presentation of these messages took many forms. All the LGM texts had been

typed, with letter case ranging from 12 to 24 point type, although there were some instances of handwritten stories which were also included. The stories were usually organized into chapters, with exercises and questions following each story. BASE was the only case where participants themselves developed and wrote some of the follow up questions and exercises. In their third LGM text, "Bihan", which was in Tharu, BASE included very few written exercises as staff decided to place more emphasis on reading, as writing answers in Tharu might have proved too difficult.

3. Participatory Action

In the three cases, a strong link can be found between the LGM activities and the process of empowerment and social change. This is reflected on three main levels: springboard to community development for readers; author empowerment; and public validation of popular non-instrumental knowledge. The first is possibly the most exciting, and potentially rewarding, in terms of community development. All 28 readers interviewed could describe changes in their habits, or direct activities which they had undertaken, as a result of reading the LGM texts. The actions ranged from organizing regular "clean the village" days, building pit latrines, tree plantation, practicing family planning, cleaning water sources, and many more. In Lwang VDC, 60% of the participants in the first four

advanced literacy classes, built improved cook stoves in their houses. This local yet appropriate technology saves wood consumption and women's time, but had been difficult to introduce into the traditional village settings (Gurung, 1994; Field Note #3).

There could be several reasons for this. Readers throughout the three cases consistently described that they "believed" the materials and felt "motivated" because the stories were from their sisters, or someone like them. This affinity for the text and its message, based on context, style or other associations, may provide a bridge from learning to doing. Other extension materials and post-literacy texts, developed by centrally based professionals, have not proven as successful in making this link to action. This is not to claim that LGM, on their own, are the reason why villagers constructed pit latrines or replanted a hillside. Rather, LGM texts act as a catalyst, which when combined with other educational, motivational or demonstrative activities, propel readers to action. Chhyamiri Gurung from Ghandruk states:

> Samrakchan is about useful things, about tree plantation and conservation. Good things are in the book. It is so useful. . . My favorite chapter is Tree Plantation. After we read in the class, we did a group planting with the mothers group. I helped. Next year, I will have my own plantation. I have a plan (Field Note # 4, p. 7).

The second level of participatory action engendered by LGM is that of author empowerment. Ten of the twelve authors interviewed reported feeling different and more

confident since being published. Eight of the authors also reported that the village treated them differently. Examples of this, given by the authors, included being chosen as a member of village committees and being regularly called upon to speak up at community meetings. Sano Kanche, the published Community Health Volunteer, described how being an author had increased her status and the power of her medical advice among other villagers. ACAP staff also reported that many authors of LGM had later submitted proposals on behalf of mothers groups and have become active in leading other community groups in various activities (Field Notes #5). It is not known whether these women were outstanding community members before this, but the authors themselves stated that they had noticed changes in themselves and in the community's treatment since becoming published.

Purna Gurung, while gazing at her story in Samrakchan I, described these differences of self perception since becoming published: "I am a good writer. I feel different because I know that I am a writer. Now I feel I can do many things. I am not afraid. I have more confidence now" (Field Note #2). Sundana from Dang remarked on changes in herself since becoming published: "I can speak up more . . . easier to talk in groups. First time I went to groups, I felt very small. If someone asked me questions, I feel I have no answer. But now, I am not worried about this" (Field Note #5, p. 20).

In none of the cases, however, did the idea of a writers' workshop originate with the participants. Many participants who arrived at the workshop did not really understand what they would be doing and had no real idea as to the nature of the 'meeting'. None of the authors interviewed had ever considered publishing before they had been invited to attend a writers' workshop. It is interesting to note that most readers interviewed, however, did feel that they were capable of writing books and stories. These readers also stated that they would need help from the NGO, but if LGM activities are continued, and more LGM texts published, spontaneous and participant planned LGM activities and writing events may occur.

The empowerment of the authors is supported by the fact that the writers' workshops themselves and the process of developing the LGM texts mirrors the action-research cycle. Participants in writers' workshops collectively work on successive drafts of stories, engaging in action-reflection cycles, through group and individual revision and editing. Topics, whether assigned or freely chosen, are developed through a spiral process of analysis (pre-writing), planning (drafting), action (revision) and reflection (editing), though each stage itself requires both reflection and action. Participants are exposed to a process in which efforts are rewarded by tangible outcomes. The production and making public of the finished text can be viewed as outcome of this action-research cycle, which

may be a reason why published authors feel empowered to do more. The third outcome in relation to participatory action is the validation of popular knowledge. This is the closest link between LGM and social transformation. From a critical perspective, LGM texts can be seen as having a direct link to the promotion of interactive and critical forms of knowledge. In the first place, readers stated that they would re-read LGM texts, something which they didn't do with Kathmandu texts. This is not done to glean more information, but because of the resonance the readers feel when reading the LGM texts. In the process of reading these materials, connections are made, building the texture of relationship between people. Authors consistently refer to the heightened connectedness with other villagers who have read their stories.

Readers also state this aspect of relationship. Bal Kumari of Ghandruk responded that: "It is written by adult level like me, so I believe it" (Field Note # 2, p. 9). In this respect, over half of the readers explicitly mentioned that the content was believable because it came from authors who were just like them. This belief in the content of the LGM texts was mentioned as a reason why the readers had carried out actions of their own after reading stories on development themes. The messages and themes presented in Kathmandu produced texts was considered less convincing.

In relation to critical knowledge comes the transformation of readers in their perception of who are

knowers and what is knowledge. Publishing LGM texts, which include stories by village women, leads to public recognition of this type of knowledge and of these women as knowers. Readers and authors both described that LGM texts showed that local women like themselves were knowers and experts in their own right. As part of the interview process, readers from each case were asked why they thought their organization was making LGM texts. Over 70% of the responses centered around "because we know best', that "village women know how to express," Dhankali Chaudory in Bardiya answered "because we have working experience which we can share with others." (Field Note 5, p. 15).

Piari Bika, an untouchable author from Ghandruk, had said that, before writing her story on untouchability, she had never even thought about being an untouchable caste. Other untouchables who read this story may also be led by critical reflection on their own caste, breaking with the fatalistic acceptance of their lot. Tharu and Tamang readers also reported feeling that they and their sisters knew things, and were experts in their own right. This shift in consciousness, a form of critical knowledge, can be attributed to the publishing of LGM texts by members of these oppressed groups. Piari stated that, "Villagers also know things. We learn how to make books to help readers improve. . . The books are for people who don't know about these things."

In this respect, LGM texts runs contrary to the "bikas syndrome", as described by Pigg in Chapter Four. The "bikas" or development syndrome, refers to Nepal's fixation on Kathmandu, other metropole, and developed countries, as sources of development, while rural village , as a national concept, is equated with "na-bikas" (undevelopment). In this regards, the hierarchy of education primary ranges from Indian boarding schools, boarding schools in Kathmandu, local private/boarding schools and lastly, village government schools, which are "na-bikas". LGM texts reverse this syndrome. Locally produced knowledge has more value and utility to the readers, and this realization awakes something within. Publishing these women's stories, is to validate women as knowers who can and should be educated, and whose knowledge and experience is recognized as valuable.

Birbal Chaudory, Education Coordinator and focal point for LGM activities in BASE, was very earnest when he responded to the question, "what is the most exciting thing about LGM?"

> I have SLC, IA, BA, but when I compare my knowledge and their knowledge, it is wonderful. They know more than me on many things. It comes from their experience. We have only theoretical education and they have practical knowledge. When other (educated/non-Tharu) people read these books, they feel the same way too. And when the village women read the books, they also feel the same. . . . When I talk to participants (advanced class readers of LGM), they feel wonderful. They ask so many questions, about when did they get the knowledge and how could they do these books. There is so much doubt. . . . Before we thought only book writers . . . magazine writers were

> very intelligent men, that only they can write these things. But now, LGM has changed our thinking. People in the villages are thinking differently about themselves.(Field Note #6)

This impact was heightened in the cases of the Tharu language texts published by BASE. If Tharu language can appear in books, then Tharus themselves must worth some value, and even local Tharus, who only know Tharu language, still know things of value. In describing these feelings, Dhankali's response was similar to the others: "the books are the same as me. . . we are aware that we know things." This intangible notion of self-cultural worth was also found in the ACAP and HEAL cases with the Gurung and Tamang readers interviewed. The originality of LGM texts goes beyond the colloquialisms and terms, and involves the structure and logic of the writing. These texts are published in the vernacular, escaping the editors plunger, and give worth and status to knowledge and information formed in the vernacular. Such texts show to prove that even authors who can't speak or write in standard Nepali are still knowers, and so are the readers of these LGM texts.

Movements based on the production and validation of popular knowledge through vernacular are many. In the region, we have Tulsi Das, who wrote the prukrit Ramayana. This version used a popular, spoken tongue in the written form, and replaced the older, Sanskrit version of Valmiki. This fueled the whole medieval Ram movement in India, taking the reading of the scriptures out of the hands of

brahmin priests and into the discourse and scriptures of the people. Similarly, in Europe, Hohenheim (a.k.a. Paracelsus) was the first to publish non-Latin medical texts, written in German, sparking social transformation in the health access and practices of northern Europe. Closer to heart is Jaroslav Hasek's work, "The Good Soldier Svejk" which legitimized spoken Czech in written form in the face of dominant German after the First World War (Hasek, 1973). So too, may LGM processes have future impacts, in terms of social transformation in Nepali.

C. Conclusion

While this is not a conclusive or exhaustive research, it does throw light onto the fundamental question as to the current theories and practices of LGM in Nepal, with review and analysis of specific cases and recommendations for future directions based on findings and issues. In conclusion, we find that LGM methods have great potential and applicability for continued use in Nepal. The concepts behind LGM, and the methods for implementation, if supported and adopted by HMG, NGOs and donors, offer a viable tool for learning, for community development and for social change.

In the process of developing LGM texts, authors in all the cases reported their feeling of motivation and empowerment. These authors were all interested to develop additional stories and texts and could even describe the

stories they wanted to write. In addition, these authors described feeling empowered, in terms of the communities perceptions of them and their perception of themselves. All the authors reported feeling more confident and more able to speak up in the presence of others as a result of publishing LGM materials. In this respect, the findings in Nepal are similar to those found by Gillespie among new literate authors in the USA (Gillespie, 1991). Readers of the texts were also interested in writing and publishing texts in the future, and have requested their organizations to organize additional writers workshops.

In none of the cases, however, has the LGM process integrated in to the adult literacy classes as part of the instructional process. This has been due to a lack of technical expertise and exposure by MOE and NGO staff, who would be responsible for training and supporting facilitators to adapt LGM methods. There is also a lack of experience or awareness among educators in Nepal regarding writing process and whole language, which makes such efforts to date small scale and ad hoc. There has been some experimentation by NGOs to pilot classes which integrate LGM methods into the basic literacy program and primer. In these cases, in terms of student retention and completion, LGM methods appears to have potential for positive impact. If research can show that the introduction of LEA activities and simple writing process activities can improve student learning or completion, there may be more

support by HMG and the country as a whole to adapt LGM methods for instruction.

In terms of the LGM texts, there can be no doubt as to their popularity among the village readers for whom they are intended. Readers repeatedly stressed their preference for LGM texts, in terms of language, content, interest and readability, when compared to Kathmandu-produced texts. Readers in all cases reported that they read their LGM texts more than once, something they did not do with other extension materials. Readers consistently described LGM texts as more believable than other materials. Readers also reported the inspirational aspect of reading LGM texts and referred to feeling motivated to carry out the activity as described in the story. This feeling was supported by over 80% of the authors interviewed who could describe specific activities which they had done or changes made in their lifestyle as a result of reading stories in the LGM texts. If one listens to the voices of the women interviewed, one can hear the value and impact of the LGM texts.

LGM methods also appear to have a direct and positive effect on reader involvement in community development activities. Readers reported in all three cases that reading LGM texts had motivated them to take action in their own lives. In each village visited, readers spoke proudly of their accomplishments, including pit latrines, reforested plots, compost pits and nurseries, which they had started after reading LGM texts. LGM methods in each

case appear to provide a bridge between the learning and doing and support the transfer of education from the classroom into daily life. These results show great potential for LGM methods with development organizations working in all fields of community development, health care and extension. Communication professional should also consider LGM and Locally Generated Materials (LoGM) as means of developing IEC materials.

We do not conclude that it is LGM methods alone which are responsible for participatory action or community development, but that they can serve as a catalyst. The conditions for this appear to be that the readers can identify that the authors are their peers, that the topics of the texts are relevant and that the required technical or resource support for follow-up actions is available. There is some skepticism, however, that LGM standards are beneath publishable levels, and therefore not worth supporting. Such sentiments, expressed by policy makers and donors, still need to be addressed in order for future efforts to receive further support.

Regarding LGM as a tool social transformation, readers in all cases also reported feelings of greater self-worth and validity after reading LGM texts. This was an outcome of seeing other rural poor, and ethnic minority women write and publish texts. The readers, as poor, rural villagers from a variety of castes and ethnic groups, reported feeling empowered as knowers after reading LGM texts. When

considered in light of the non-standard dialects and minority languages found in the texts, LGM products have great potential for social empowerment. Using LGM as a means of developing a body of literature in minority languages and the vernacular is to strengthen the cultural heritage and identity of the people. In addition, learning the fundamental of literacy in one's native language allows these skills to be more easily applied to Devanagari. This may also result in better overall performance in education and rates of literacy among ethnic minority groups.

Issues on the use of dialect and vernacular in texts and the use of standard Nepali need to be raised with the authors themselves. In terms of preserving languages and expanding local literacy practices, consistency in orthography and syntax will also need to be addressed. Local systems of LGM development and exchange can be supported by the introduction of portable lithograph silk screens, which can be carried to classes by local supervisors and staff. A system of social marketing, with local level writers taking on more production responsibilities, should be further strengthened and expanded. A distribution and marketing system also needs to be developed and a network of clearing houses established and supported for LGM to have even greater impact. Further research in the areas of social marketing and cost recovery in relation to LGM texts, however, is required.

The success of LGM methods in Nepal may be due to several factors, including the high level of interest among local NGOs, the lack of reading materials available in rural areas, and the novelty of the idea. The spread of LGM activities in Nepal can certainly be attributed to SCF US's role in training the trainers from other NGOs. These TOTs always included a writers' workshop with new literates in order for trainers to get a first hand experience and feeling for the process. There are several LGM manuals (out of print) and a small cadre of NFE professionals who are trained, who have personal experience with the process, and who believe in LGM methods. This has been a key element in the apparent success, in terms of local adoption and use, of the LGM concepts and methods. This should be considered by any other countries who would like to learn from the Nepal experience.

C H A P T E R I X

ISSUES AND AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

A. Issues

In comparing and analyzing the three case studies, distinct issues emerge which should be considered when implementing LGM methods. These issues can be summarized as follows: New literates - Capable or incapable writers; LGM Methods - Focus on process or product; Standard or non-standard usage; Short term or sustainable efforts; and Micro or macro distribution and use.

1. New Literates - Capable or Incapable Writers

When first introducing the concept of LGM in Nepal during a half day workshop in 1991, there was a feeling of incredulity among the MOE policy makers, donors and NGO staff who attended. The notion of new literates from the village becoming authors was not readily believed. Even today, when introducing my dissertation topic to Nepalese, there is skepticism. This may be due in part to a vision of post-literacy and extension materials as full of information and fact which experts know, and which the readers need to learn in order to change their bad habits. In this illiterate as deficient twist to the bikas syndrome, new literates are believed to be lacking the skills and knowledge required to write materials.

LGM activities need to overcome ingrained beliefs about the role of learners as recipients of information, not makers of knowledge. Whatever the root cause, there exists a general disbelief amongst planners, policy makers and funders when describing LGM activities. In the case of Nepal, this has been overcome, to some extent, through experience and exposure. Enough LGM texts have been produced, by various agencies to make the LGM process more acceptable and to build faith in the ability of new literates to write stories. The editing, layout and production of materials, however, is still considered by many to be beyond the capacity of graduates from basic literacy classes.

This doubt is echoed by new literates themselves. As mentioned earlier, 'free writing', or writing on a topic of one's choice, is not practiced in Nepal's education system, formal or non-formal. The writing process, where one text is drafted and revised several times, is a completely foreign concept to the education system here. There is no experience of developing stories, let alone of sharing them with others to read. None of the participants first attending the writers' workshops had ever considered writing or publishing stories before. Interviews with readers of LGM texts, however, show that this is changing. Most readers interviewed felt that they could also write stories if they got the chance to attend a writers'

workshop, and several could even describe the type of story they would write.

Organizations considering to implement LGM activities must be aware of the disbelief and lack of support from most policy makers and donors who hear about LGM for the first time. In Nepal today, there is more acceptance and support for LGM activities today than in 1991. The best way to dispel doubt regarding new literate capacity to write books is to share LGM texts with the doubters. ACAP has begun circulating copies of LGM texts with local government officials and ACAP staff as a means of awakening them to the capacity of local women. In overcoming the doubt of new literate writers, BASE and ACAP found that sharing published LGM texts with the participants during writers' workshops increased their confidence and intensity of writing. SCF US and UMN also report that producing litho copies of stories during the writers workshop was also powerful tool for dispelling doubt.

2. LGM Methods - Focus on Process or Product

The acceptance of LGM methods in Nepal can be attributed to the leading role which SCF US has taken in training and technical support. In 1992, it was SCF US which organized a Training of Trainers (TOT) on LGM for literacy trainers from 10 different NGOs. A Training Manual, developed in part using LGM methods during the TOT, was printed and 100 copies were distributed to interested

organizations. A second TOT was held a year later, again supported by the publishing of a LGM Guidebook. In these TOTs, and in the reports and manuals which were developed, focus remained on the use of LGM methods for materials development. To date, little attention or interest has been given to integrating LGM methods into literacy classes as a means of instruction.

While LGM activities have been modelled with participants during the TOTs, the outcomes invariably focus on the product, developing stories and litho graph texts in the course of the training. Adult new literates were invited to the TOTs as means of demonstrating to the participants that new literates could write and publish, not to gain exposure to the use of the LGM process for literacy acquisition. Participants in the TOT report feeling convinced that LGM methods can work, especially as they have had personal experience seeing new literates produce materials. TOT participants, however, do not report feeling that the LGM process would work in a basic literacy classes.

As mentioned, in none of the cases had the organization begun to implement LGM methods in their basic literacy programs. This may be due, in part, to the prevailing perception of LGM as a method of materials development. The process of integrating LGM methods into classroom instruction does not hold as much interest for organizations to date. Implementing LGM in the classroom,

according to the staff interviewed, is considered to require too much technical skill and knowledge from the facilitators of literacy classes. To date, no manuals or guidelines exist in Nepal to help facilitators use whole language and writing process activities. Rote memorization and phonics, as used in primary schools, along with the discussion and games found in the Naya Goreto package, are considered good enough for the adult literacy classes.

This reluctance to try LGM methods could also be the result of a conception by practitioners that it is an either or proposition. In this respect, like Chall's "Great Divide" between whole language and phonics (1979), there may be a fear that LGM methods require organizations to abandon their current practices and textbooks if they take up whole language approaches and activities. LGM methods, using writing process activities and whole language exercises need to be presented as a supplement to, not as a replacement for, the Naya Goreto package and existing methods. What is the fundamental issue is the lack of "real" writing activities, to use Rogers' terminology (1994), in literacy classes in Nepal, and the deleterious effect this has on learning. If the focus of the implementing organization is community development, then writers' workshops with target group members for text production may fulfill program objectives. If education and literacy acquisition are also program goals, however, then the integration of LGM methods and real writing activities

into the basic literacy course requires serious consideration and further experimentation.

3. Standard or Non-standard Usage

In developing LGM texts in Nepal, more attention has been placed on the content of the materials and less on form and style. Once the participants get the words on paper, NFE professionals and NGO staff can apply editing and formatting skills to polish and perfect the text. In this respect, while new literates may be able to give feedback to drafts and provide some editorial inputs during the writers workshops, this is viewed as a time consuming effort of limited value. What is at issue here is the accepted use and potential impact of non-standard Nepali in published texts and the role of new literates and writers' workshops participants in the process.

Ogbu (1989) studied the effects of standard forms of written English in the United States in comparison to Black forms of English communication. The research showed that oral communication patterns of Black Americans do not find representation or voice in written English. As a result, there is no positive reinforcement and few models for the usage of written Black English, which is devalued along with Black oral communication. This devaluation of language and Black expression is projected and reified as the devaluation of Black culture itself. When applied to the context of Nepal, levels of editing and the polishing LGM

texts can have a direct impact on the social ramifications during dissemination.

If organizations decide to use LGM activities to support local dialects and minority languages, they must face challenges from policy makers and central government who may perceive standard language usage as a key element in nation building and national identity. Issues regarding minority languages are complex and extremely political. In terms of Nepali language LGM texts, publishing, and thereby promoting non-standard forms of Nepali may be perceived as weakening or diluting the language. In this view, new literate readers may be led to believe that the misspellings, as found in the LGM texts, are really correct, thereby reinforcing bad habits in new literates. Those opposed to non-standard texts may also site that new authors themselves prefer to have their writing edited into mainstream style as it makes their writing more acceptable and professional looking. While standard usage may have this appeal, the authors themselves should have the opportunity to consider this issue fully. LGM texts which have been edited into mainstream style by professional editors run the risk of losing their authenticity, and thereby some of their impact in terms of readability and motivation. If the purpose of implementing LGM methods, however, involves social change and empowerment, than the use of non-standard forms and vernacular in the texts needs further consideration.

The role of the authors in the editing and finalization of the LGM texts is another key issue. Among the writers' workshop resource persons interviewed, there was doubt expressed over the capacity of new-literate participants of writers' workshops to edit and finalize texts. In the three day writers workshops, with the requirement of producing publishable stores, the resource persons felt more concern with generating the content of stories, and less concern over editing or finalizing the texts. The final editing and decisions of style could always be determined later by professional staff. In the case of World Education, with the factual needs of the health related topics driving the workshops, group work during the workshop focussed on the content, with participants adding concepts and sentences to the stories rather than focussing on the grammar or style.

The level of participant involvement in the editing and finalization of the LGM texts during the three cases was closely related to the organizational objectives for initiating the LGM activity. In the case of BASE, the purpose of LGM was to produce materials in the participants' own words as means of validating and honoring local knowledge. Participant involvement in editing and finalizations of the texts was therefore viewed as extremely important. In the BASE Nepali language LGM texts, Kathmandu readers are unable to fully understand or appreciate the stories. While this is mainly due to

vocabulary and Tharu-based expressions, non-local readers also complain of the misspellings and grammar, which they feel make the text difficult to read. These misspellings, when analyzed, are of two types. In the first are plain errors, which occur by accident with random occurrence. In the second are common errors, where the authors spell the words as they are pronounced in vernacular, or pattern their sentences on the local syntax and structure. While this both irritating and wrong for educated Kathmandu readers, many of these errors make for perfect sense and easier reading for the audiences for whom they are intended.

This is similar to the ACAP experience. Dibya Gurung describes her rationale for having the women edit their stories themselves during the writers' workshops: "LGM is theirs, that is the whole concept. Written words should not be a barrier in reading and writing. The readers should feel that this is from their area. This is the driving factor" (Field Note #2). As a result, Samrakchan I and II contain many spelling 'errors' and obvious grammatical 'mistakes'. There is a logic behind these errors, however, which reflect the speech patterns and pronunciation of the authors. In this respect, decisions regarding what is 'good' writing for LGM may be something other than standard Nepali, and something of which Kathmandu editors are not the best judges. When one considers that one of the reasons for the popularity of LGM is the fact that readers identify

the language and usage as their own, then extensive editing in Kathmandu must be questioned.

An issue that arises when one agrees to produce texts in the vernacular, as edited by participants in writers' workshops, is whether LGM texts should present some standardized model of writing. If the objective of the LGM method is to say that anything goes, that all writing is good regardless of form, then the internal consistency of the text may not be important. If the objective, however, is to present materials in the target group's own style, using their own words, then there is nothing wrong in developing and maintaining a certain consistency in spelling and form. In this way, the materials may also serve as a model for others who care to write in the vernacular. This requires that participants and facilitators discuss and analyze this issue openly as part of the writers' workshop. This is an element that was not incorporated into the writers' workshops in any of the cases.

4. Short-Term or Sustainable Efforts

Sustainability can be viewed on several levels. In the first is sustainable practice. This occurs when a new and innovative idea is accepted and adopted by local organizations who are capable and interested in maintaining the practice in the long term. Outside experts who introduce an idea and supply funding and technical support

can expect short term impacts, but long term sustainability of practices are more difficult to attain. In the case of Nepal, through continued technical inputs from SCF US, enough trainers from different organizations have become familiar with LGM methods to carry out writers' workshops on their own. As far as publication of materials, a wide range of titles attests to the acceptance and popularity of LGM as a concept. Please see the Appendix for details on the widespread use and acceptance of LGM activities in Nepal since 1991, which in turn bode well for the long term sustainability of LGM methods.

An example of this comes from World Education. The Asia Field Director for World Education, based in Nepal, reported attending a meeting with UNESCO Paris regarding literacy programs and the link to health development. In describing the HEAL Project to Education Ministers from several countries in Africa, there was great interest in the Phase Three materials and the LGM process for producing texts. As the discussion described the planned expansion of the HEAL Project to additional districts, the African Ministers inquired whether or not the writers' workshops would be conducted in each new district, or whether World Education would continue to use the same Phase Three materials. Due to the presence of adult literacy trainers who have attended LGM TOTs and who have been exposed to LGM methods, writers' workshops can be held in the new

districts and new versions of the Phase Three materials produced.

On another level of sustainability, LGM methods in Nepal are dependent upon continued financial support. While the writers' workshops themselves do not require much funding, printing the materials does require a source of funds. Once the stock of books has been distributed, without additional funding, additional printings are impossible. Part of the reason for this is the issue, in each of the cases, of developing LGM texts along the same lines as regular post-literacy materials, which are distributed to readers free of cost. The practice by SCF US of producing litho graph LGM texts in villages appears to have more potential for sustainability and for social marketing. The materials are inexpensive to produce and require minimal technical expertise. Local supervisors and literacy class facilitators, as well as published village authors, have easily master the technology of operating the small portable litho-graph machines. In terms of cost recovery, however, until systems of sales, distribution and subscriptions for LGM texts are established, financial sustainability in terms of costs will remain difficult, and on a national level, impossible.

A more fundamental aspect of financial sustainability is the issue of cost effectiveness in terms of utility and impact. If a brand of product is cheap and completely useless, then the more expensive but useful brand is in

fact, more cost effective to buy. Readers in all cases reported that the LGM texts were the only ones which they read more than once. If the goal of the post-literacy materials is to promote literacy and to reinforce reading, then LGM texts are more cost effective than the post-literacy materials produced by Kathmandu based experts. Similarly, readers in all the cases reported feeling motivated towards action and a heightened sense of self-worth after reading the LGM texts written by their peers. These impacts were not mentioned in relation to the other post-literacy materials, and represent a substantial difference in impact. The use of basic education with adults as an entry point for other community development activities is common in Nepal, though with mixed results. Donors and implementors are beginning to question the efficacy of this approach, especially in terms of waste through drop-out and the lack of transfer of development messages from the class to home (Bordia & Shakya, 1994; Comings & Shrestha, 1992). The use of LGM texts, however, appears to act as a catalyst which motivates readers to action, thereby presenting a cost effective approach to community development through education. In reference to this level of sustainability, Rogers in his review of post-literacy materials points out:

> The educational value of encouraging individuals or groups to engage in the preparation, production and publication of their own materials is enough to justify these projects, even if they are unlikely to last long or be sustainable. (1994, p. 26)

5. Micro or Macro Distribution and Use

In all the cases, the LGM texts were printed in Kathmandu, from where they were transported to the organizations in the district. The dissemination of the LGM materials was channeled through post-literacy classes, where participants in received their copies of the LGM texts as course books. As can be imagined, this system faces the normal difficulties which all education programs in Nepal encounter, especially delays in delivery. In the case of World Education, LGM texts were printed in batches of three to four volumes in Kathmandu, and were sent to the Health Posts for delivery to the CHVs and mothers groups. Unfortunately, during our visit to Dadavas village, we found that the women had not received the last four volumes of the Phase Three materials, which were still in storage in the Palun Health Post. In the case of BASE, while materials were printed in Kathmandu, delivery to village readers was arranged through the Area Committees and the Village Committees, which helped ensure that material did reach the readers, although after some time. Distribution and dissemination of materials in Nepal remains a problem for all print materials, including formal school books, newspapers, and extension materials.

What was not practiced in any of the cases was a process whereby materials were printed at the local level. This process has been tried by SCF US and UMN, who have used portable litho graph machines to print and exchange

materials locally. In countries such as Nepal, where reading materials are scarce, communication systems weak and transportation poor, centrally organized efforts to promote reading inevitably fail. What has not been considered in any of the cases is the issue of distributing networks and delivery systems which can reach a wider local target group and which result in payment by the readers for the materials. An issue which has often been raised by policy makers and donors is the fact that local or regional production of materials, at the micro level, is more expensive than macro production and the distribution of materials nationally. What is more at issue is the unwillingness of central authorities to relinquish their control of the materials production process. As a result, the materials which are printed are on topics which are chosen by central authorities are which are edited into a mainstream style, accessible to readers on the macro level.

The LGM process, if incorporated into classrooms, can generate and interest and demand for reading. Participants can produce big books and their own illustrated texts, small group stories through writing contests, and individual writing for sharing and exchange. In addition, organizations in Nepal implement adult literacy programs on a cluster basis, whereby 5-10 classes are conducted within the same vicinity. Facilitators and participants in these classes can be supported to develop materials for exchange on the micro level. If real interest and appreciation for

reading and writing can be developed at this level, the ground may then be prepared for sustainable print environments. To gain even more impact, however, the introduction of portable litho presses will increase the number of texts produced and available for distribution and exchange. In order for this to occur, however, the issue of integrating LGM methods into basic literacy classes must first be addressed.

Another issue to consider when addressing micro local distribution is the limitation of dissemination through literacy classes. By restricting distribution and use of the LGM texts to advanced literacy class participants, the target group is a much smaller number than the actual number of new literates and potentially interested, village based readers. In most literacy programs, there is a steady attrition of learners through the basic and advanced classes. Similarly, adults who have completed 5-10 years of school are among the largest potential audiences and markets for LGM texts, if the materials were only available. The distribution of materials outside of the classroom setting to a larger number of readers is not being practiced, except in the case of BASE, where the materials are also sent through the letter writing system to women who had dropped out of the program. This letter writing system, however, does not target other potential readers who may be interested in, and who could benefit from, these materials.

Another issue related to macro distribution involves editing. When using LGM stories in their Jamarko texts, which are disseminated nationally, SCF US carries out substantial editing and standardization of the stories. BASE authors, who had been published in Jamarko, reported that their stories were different from the one's they had written, although they still felt good about being published. SCF US staff stated that there was a need to edit these stories in order for them to be accessible to a wider audience. This editorial tension, inherent in producing LGM texts for a multi-lingual and multi-ethnic target group, must be recognized by organizations and lends weight to arguments in favor of more localized production and distribution.

Regional efforts for LGM production and dissemination in Nepal will have to be supported by the development of distribution systems and networks. These would require the establishment of LGM clearinghouses. A clearinghouse, much in the British model of Centreprise or ALBSU, would be responsible for collecting and printing titles, as well as marketing and sales. In the first, the clearing houses in Nepal would need to be in direct contact with organizations which can produce LGM texts. The clearing houses could also be involved in conducting writers workshops themselves or in holding writing contests, as a means of producing LGM texts.

The clearing houses would also need to handle the marketing and sales of materials. Catalogs and lists of titles with descriptions would need to developed and shared. In literacy classes, participants can be shown catalogs by the facilitators and then order their books through the local supervisors. The issue of handling money, especially when the books may cost Rs. 2-3 and be paid only in cash, would need to be addressed. As such, regional clearing houses which are more closely connected with networks reaching to the village need to be considered. Clearinghouses can also sell directly to organizations themselves, who in turn would need to consider the dissemination and sale to their prospective readers. This system may take some time to develop before it can be fully functional, as there are still relatively few LGM texts being produced and as the system of payment for materials by mail is still very weak. Selling titles at a subsidized rate may very well be necessary in the beginning. What is at issue here is finding donor support for the start up costs, which would include funds for printing, or support for printing presses and equipment. To date, few donors seem to be willing to support such activities, and, as such, the long term sustainability of LGM text production is questionable.

B. Areas for Further Research

The following areas for research are intended primarily for practitioners and planners of adult education programs in Nepal, as well as NGOs, HMG and donors supporting community development and advocacy programs. The recommendations for research, however, are directly applicable throughout South Asia, as well as the greater Asia and the Pacific Regions, though application and relevance is intended for adult basic education and/or community development programs globally. The areas have been categorized as follows: the impact of integrating LGM methods into basic literacy classes; the impact of non-standard usage; the role of pleasure and information in reading for development; conditions for social marketing and sustained distribution; the application of LGM methods to children; and LGM texts as tools for promoting interactive and/or critical knowledge.

1. The Impact of Integrating LGM Methods into Adult Literacy Classes

In none of the three cases were LGM methods introduced into adult basic literacy classes. LGM methods focussed on special events and writers' workshops. Process approaches to teaching writing, and the concept of developing a series of drafts through sharing and revision, remain foreign concepts. Learners and facilitators have not been introduced to writing exercises and activities which foster real, free or creative writing. Writing in the classroom is

primarily restricted to answering exercise questions, filling in blanks provided in the Naya Goreto primer and copying passages into notebooks. In addition, there are few, if any, cases of any personal writing in the Naya Goreto course books, such as filling out forms in ones' own name or writing a description of one's own family or village.

The writers' workshops are the first time for most of the participants to engage in real and meaningful writing in an organized setting. While the authors, when interviewed, reported learning from the experience, the organizations have not attempted to integrate these methods into their basic literacy programs. The recommendation for further research revolves around the use of LGM methods to integrate 'real' writing exercises and process writing activities into the basic adult literacy program, and the impact on learning and participant motivation.

There is already one example of this in Nepal. In Siraha, Dhanusa and Mahottari, three international NGOs; SCF US, SCF Japan and CARE, have collaborated to introduce the Language Experience Approach (LEA) into their basic adult literacy classes. As a pilot project in 20 classes in 1994/95, it was hoped that the introduction of the new method would have an impact on the learning and retention of minority language speakers. Facilitators were trained in LEA activities and encouraged to use the learners own words to develop writing exercises in class. These activities

were introduced from the very beginning of the classes, and continued throughout the 6 month course. The initial findings are promising. In the 20 classes where LEA was piloted in Siraha district, there was only 8% drop-out, compared to the 22% drop out in the control group (SCF US, 1995).

In considering the drop out rate in adult literacy classes, which is estimated at 35% nationally, the impact of LGM methods into basic literacy classes could have tremendous implications in terms of wastage and cost effectiveness. One reason behind the improved completion rates in the LEA classes may very well be due to increased relevance of the learning for students. Learners in these classes speak a mix of Maithali and Nepali, and staff reported that the students learnt Devanagri quickly when using their own words. Another reason for the 92% completion rate may also be motivation and the affective element. Authors in all three cases studies reported feeling motivated and a higher sense of confidence as a result of writing and publishing. Learners in adult literacy classes, who can actually see their writing made public, may also feel motivated and inspired to continue learning.

There appears to be great potential if adult classes can integrate activities and concepts from the LGM process, which features real and practical skills with the rewards and motivation of making one's writing public. Research in

this area should not attempt to replace the Naya Goreto textbooks and current teaching methods. Rather, any experimentation should be integrated into the Naya Goreto primers and complement existing teaching practices. The key word and generative theme approach is amply suited to LGM methods and writing activities. The discussion poster illustrations, which begin each chapter, are ideal for a variety of writing activities. These posters can be returned to again and again in the duration of the course for different writing activities, dependent on the level of the participants' literacy skills.

Minor changes to enhance Naya Goreto could include the exercises and questions at the end of the reading passages in the second volume. These could be rewritten so that unique and personally meaningful responses are required rather than exact sentences copied from the story. In a revised form, with open questions, (i.e., what do you think she should have done? Or what is the meaning of this story?), participants could write their first draft of the answer in their notebooks. Later, after sharing and revising their drafts, the learners can write their individual answers in their books. Facilitator training would need to be changed so that in the training itself, the facilitators can experience and participate in various writing activities. The writing process itself, as a concept, should be introduced, so that facilitators can understand and internalize the processes followed in

writing. Facilitators during the current 9 day training could be involved in developing stories and texts, revising, sharing and editing their own texts as part of their training.

Research on the impact of LGM methods which point to improved learning and lower drop out would have a direct impact on policy decisions and future funding. Considering the nature of instruction in Nepal, and in South Asia as a whole, real change in education is required. The rewards, in terms of satisfaction, learning and fun, for both teachers and learners, must be calculated into the LGM process activities which are to be introduced. Once they experience active learning and the rewards of LGM methods, teacher and learners may themselves demand this change.

2. The Impact of Non-Standard Usage

There are concerns and objections raised in Kathmandu and among educators regarding the sub-standard Nepali found in LGM texts. These concerns usually make mention of the need to support proper language use and the dangers of publishing Nepali which may be incorrect, and therefore misleading to readers who will assume that such sub-standard usage is somehow correct. In addition, education and literacy programs are seen as a means of building national identity. Publishing LGM texts in dialects or in minority languages may be seen as counter-productive to these efforts.

In contrast to this is the finding of this research which shows that readers identify more with the LGM texts written in the vernacular. This affiliation to the non-standard language used in the LGM texts, as reported by the readers, is a key reason for the interest in, and inspiration from, these materials. Further research in this area, as a means of providing more substantive support to these positions, and to shape future policy and practice in LGM publications, is required.

If the finding of this doctoral research are correct, then there is need for more participation of authors in the editing process during the writers workshops. Group analysis and discussion of grammar and structure resulting in consensus and consistency in style did not really take place in the writers' workshops in the three case studies. Rather, a natural, uncritical process was followed, where the authors were encouraged to write their stories in their own words and to forget about correctness, especially in the early drafts. To some degree, in ACAP and BASE, conscious decisions were made by writers on non-standard spelling and usage, but this was of an ad hoc nature. Group decisions making on editing standards did not take place.

In practice, the small groups, when preparing their final drafts during the writers workshops, would usually ask the 'best' writer to make the final copy in their own hand. As Jagan, from ACAP noted, these 'best' writers would often edit the language, taking out the dialect

'misspellings' and substituting more standard forms to make the text look 'better'. This was usually done without group input. If a serious discussion had taken place, perhaps authors would have opted for more consistent dialect spelling in the vernacular, or requested the staff for help to make their stories more standard.

June Jordan has written on her work with Black urban students, teaching a Black English writing course (Jordan, 1985). Jordan describes at length the process of her Black students confronting the nature of their own speech when written. They were quick to realize how it had been devalued, that it had no precedents, that they didn't know their own grammar or if one existed, and that they felt 'disempowered' as a result. Standard written English belonged to another race, while Black English had not been relegated any status as a written text. In the process of the semester long course, students grappled with the development of guidelines to govern their Black English compositions. This resulted in the following discoveries:

> The syntax of a sentence equals the structure of your consciousness . . . There are three qualities of Black English - the presence of life, voice and clarity - that testify to a distinctive Black value system that we became excited about and self-consciously tried to maintain. . . You cannot translate instances of Standard English preoccupied with abstraction . . . into Black English. That would warp the language into uses antithetical to the guiding perspective of its community of users. (p. 129)

During the course, one of the student's brothers was killed by the police. As in most cases of its kind, there

was no trial or investigation, and the class decided to collectively write to the daily newspapers to raise the issue. Jordan describes the intense debate over the dialect of English to use in the letter to the newspaper, Black English or standard, before the class decided to collectively write a letter, in Black English, to the editors of the three main daily newspapers. The students had felt that the nature of the incident (Black man killed wrongfully by white police), required that they as writers stay "who we been", Black and oppressed, raising their voice against injustice. The class letter was never published, something the students had expected since big newspapers never use Black English, but this active debate and conscious choice to use the vernacular is something which is missing to date in Nepal.

Analysis in the use and implications of non-standard Nepali in the LGM texts needs further study. As communication experts and professional materials developers adopt LGM methods, there is a distinct possibility that new literate authors will pen first drafts, which will be collected by Kathmandu-based experts who will make all final decisions on layout, editing and production. If the publishing of texts in the local dialect can be linked to issues of empowerment and motivation, the authors and target groups will need to be directly involved in the editing and linguistic analysis of their texts.

3. The Role of Pleasure and Information in Reading for Development

In Nepal, almost all the post-literacy materials produced are full of development messages with the goal of influencing reader behavior by providing information. There are very few examples of material produced for new literates whose content are strictly for fun. While comic books, romances and film magazines are extremely popular in Kathmandu, they are not available in the rural, remote villages and would be expensive if they were available. Free extension materials are either development message driven, or full of information on specific topics.

In this dissertation research, the readers interviewed stated their preference for the LGM stories which were fun, such as the riddles, moral stories and personal histories. Readers also stated that they preferred the development stories which were written by their peers to those developed by Kathmandu professional. What is lacking is any research which points out that reading development stories actually leads to development, or whether reading for pleasure will, in the long run, somehow lead readers to carry out carry out development activities in their homes or communities.

Development agencies who support the development of extension materials on development themes do so without any clear proof that this will, in turn, result in community development. New literates, who are provided with fun and interesting reading materials, may in fact, through the

retention and use of their literacy skills, be more likely to engage in such development activities. If the stories are produced by their peers, pleasure reading may also result in validation and motivation which will carry over into action. There is no research existing, however, which proves this one way or the other.

LGM methods may be incorporated by organizations as a means of developing materials strictly on development themes. If readers prefer pleasure reading, and if it can be shown that such reading is equally motivational in terms of community development and the retention of literacy skills, then there will be a strong reason in support of organizing writers' workshops using free writing and more author choice in topic selection. If, on the other hand, we find that LGM texts on development themes have a direct impact on readers carrying out these development initiatives in their own lives, then there will be strong reasons for supporting future writers' workshops on specific development topics.

4. Conditions for Social Marketing and Sustained Distribution

Local initiatives, with limited copies and maximum local participation in both the production and sale of the materials, may prove more fruitful in terms of financial sustainability. These efforts will be enhanced once organizations begin to integrate LGM methods into the basic literacy classes. In considering the exchange of locally

produced litho graph LGM texts between classes and villages, social marketing and cost recovery schemes are issues which also merit consideration. In the three case studies, the readers and authors interviewed said they would be willing to pay between Rs. 0.5 and Rs. 3 for the lithograph copies of the SCF US litho texts, which cost roughly Rs. 1 to produce. Readers interviewed offered between Rs. 2 and Rs. 7 for the LGM texts printed in Kathmandu.

Local women appear willing to pay for the LGM texts which they think are interesting or useful. It is by no means easy, however, to develop a delivery and payment system in Nepal. One possibility has been proposed by BASE. Monthly writers' workshops would be conducted with various women's groups who have completed the advanced literacy course. These writers' workshops would develop several texts each month with the help of a local facilitators and publishes new literates, who would be supplied the lithograph machine, ink, and supplies. After printing the 150 copies of the LGM texts on litho, the materials would be distributed by 'book sellers,' who would be hired by the Area Committees to circulate among the villages selling the LGM texts for Rs. 2. The book seller would receive a bicycle to help deliver the materials. Of the Rs. 2 charge, the authors and women's groups would receive Rs. 1 and the Area Committee the other Rs. 1, with which the book seller could be paid. This proposal by BASE is still looking for

donor support but may provide a system for long-term sustainability of LGM text production.

Building a market for reading materials is a real issue. As long as governments and donors print extension materials for new literates completely free of cost, it is difficult to raise interest amongst local people to pay money for texts. As extension materials produced for new literates are on development themes and information, LGM texts for pleasure reading may have a better chance for marketing. By developing local demand and habit for buying LGM texts, private enterprise may also be tempted to start printing more materials by and for the adult new literates. These efforts may very well need to be subsidized in the initial stages, and will certainly require market research and experimentation.

The issue can also be raised as to whether LGM texts should be cheap, lower-quality publications or more professional, higher-quality texts. There is a concern that low quality, litho graphed texts may connote an inferior, second class status to the LGM texts. This can in turn serve as a deterrent to readership and reinforce existing negative stereotypes regarding the worth of new literates knowledge and writing. In the case of UMN's Pipal books, the more expensive glossy, color covers were meant to last longer, as well as to give reading for pleasure more status. While there has been speculation over this issue, little practical research has been carried out. In order to

get some feedback on reader opinion regarding quality, I brought a collection of LGM materials with me on each field visit. In the process of interviewing readers and authors, I would spread the collection of 10-15 books on the ground and ask which book they would like to read and take home that evening if given the chance. The collection of materials usually included village three litho graphed books from SCF US, the ACAP text Samrakchan, 3-4 volumes from the HEAL Phase Three series, two BASE materials, three glossy Pipal books from UMN and two offset copies of SCF US "Jamarko" publications.

The goal of the exercise was to assess how readers reacted to the LGM texts' covers and titles. In asking readers to choose a book from the collection, the most popular choice was an old and dirty litho graphed text from SCF US entitled "Growing Cardamon for Money." World Education's HEAL materials were the second most popular choice, especially the volumes Health Post and Happy Family. Surprisingly, the glossy Pipal Books were selected on only two occasions, in both instances by young women who had graduated from the literacy classes and were enrolled in the formal school system. In explaining why she chose the litho graphed Cardamon story, Joti Chaudory gave a typical response: "because the topic looks interesting, and we guess the inside will be the same" (Field Note, #5). In all fairness, another reason for the reluctance to choose the Pipal books may be that readers felt intimidated by the

fancy cover, feeling that they would be unable to read and understand the language it contained, although this is only speculation on my part. Further research on this issue and the impact of paper quality, cover stock, coloration and production style on the readers, in relation to the costs involved, would be useful.

5. The Application of LGM Methods to Children

In both formal and nonformal systems of education for children in Nepal, little to no attention is given to real writing. In terms of teaching and learning, formal primary education gives children virtually no chance to practice real writing or to engage print in a meaningful way. It is a great tragedy, not only in Nepal, but throughout South Asia, where rote memorization, drills, reading aloud and whole class repetition are the most common methods and a stick the most common teaching aid. The introduction of LGM methods into the primary system could be a means of transforming the existing school environment from the numbing, "banking-mode" of rote passivity to creative, open and joyful places of learning. Research in Nepal to support this, however, does not exist.

In Nepal, research utilizing pilot projects would need to be based on localized teacher training, which would be delivered at the Resource Centre (RC). RCs in Nepal are staffed by a Resource Person, and consist of a training halls and office attached to a government primary or

secondary school. The RC cluster is made up of 12-25 primary schools, who receive supervision, training, materials and monitoring from the RC. To initiate LGM pilots in the primary schools, teachers can be brought together at the RC to receive training. Comparison between these pilot classes and control groups could focus in learning, as well as on attendance and drop out.

In addition, Class Four and Five children in primary school can participate in writers' workshops to develop a wide range of LGM stories and texts. The participation of children in writers' workshops may expect resistance from those who doubt the capacity of children. In the context of Nepal, children can be selected from Class Four and Five, as well as from children in Bal Shiksha children's non-formal basic education program. The materials developed can be shared with primary school children, whose reactions to the materials can be compared to the materials developed by experts in Kathmandu.

A similar approach to materials production for children was used in Lesotho, where writers' workshops were organized for primary school children. Good writers were identified by teachers and headmasters, who were then chosen to participate in three day children's writers' workshops. The products of the workshops were printed and distributed as supplementary reading materials in the primary schools. This was part of a larger initiative to integrate the writing process and learner-centered

instruction into the primary schools of Lesotho (BANFES, 1990).

In the Bal Shiksha, non-formal children's basic education programs in Nepal, there is also very little time spent with real writing activities. The writing process, free writing, LEA and other LGM activities are not introduced during the nine-month, two-hour-a-day course. The materials teach reading, writing and numeracy using a combination of traditional activities, as well as Key Words, songs and games. The only example of the integration of writing process into the children's NFE classroom is SCF US/Japan, who have experimented with LEA in the Bal Shiksha classes in Dhanusa and Siraha. Children's drawings and simple stories are hung on the walls of the classroom and supplementary materials have been developed to help introduce letters to the children through Maithali words. SCF Japan reports to have very low drop out from the Bal Shiksha classes (less than 10%) and report that the learning of students has increased since the introduction of these activities in the 1994/95 program. Further research efforts are required to document the impacts of LGM methods on the completion and on the learning of children in Bal Shiksha classes, which in turn can justify a methodological and curricular review of the Bal Shiksha program.

6. LGM Texts as Tools for Interactive and/or Critical Knowledge

The research from the doctoral study suggests the hypothesis that LGM methods do promote interactive as well as critical forms of knowledge.

Readers reported feeling connected to the authors and to the LGM texts, which they identified as being produced by their peers. This identification may be further supported by a feeling of validation as knowers since the author, who is "just like me," is capable of publishing. This assumption is supported by the readers who stated that they had more faith and motivation after reading LGM texts.

This, in turn may lead to a fundamental shift in what is perceived as knowledge and the validation of the periphery over the metropole, or the village over Kathmandu. In this respect, the information in the LGM is not as important as the source of the information.

Further research, which can link LGM methods to Participatory Action Research and critical knowledge could lead to the use of LGM methods as tools for action research and the reclamation of popular knowledge.

In the context of Nepal, where minority language groups have been culturally oppressed, this empowering aspect of LGM texts in minority languages has real potential. The Tharu authors had no previous concept of Tharu writing before attending the writers' workshop or the readers before receiving their copy of Bihan. These readers were now quick to assert that Tharu texts were important

because they were easy to read and because they showed that Tharu people knew things and had their own culture. This is a real transformation in how Tharus perceive themselves and could be a key element in any future Tharu renaissance. The role of LGM in such a process if supported by further research, would be an important step in supporting native LGM activities in minority languages.

When asked how being published would effect other untouchable readers, Santi Bika had no answer, but the effect of LGM texts by untouchable and oppressed groups is an area in need of further research. In working with groups in extremely difficult circumstances, LGM may have real potential for providing these learners with motivation and inspiration. To date, there is almost no research on this aspect of LGM methods and the relation to attendance, motivation, and completion of basic literary classes among these groups. The application of LGM activities and methods to groups who are extremely oppressed, including Kammaiyas, Badi sex workers, Chepang, Magyar, untouchables, and to children in difficult circumstances, should be considered as research and supported.

APPENDIX A

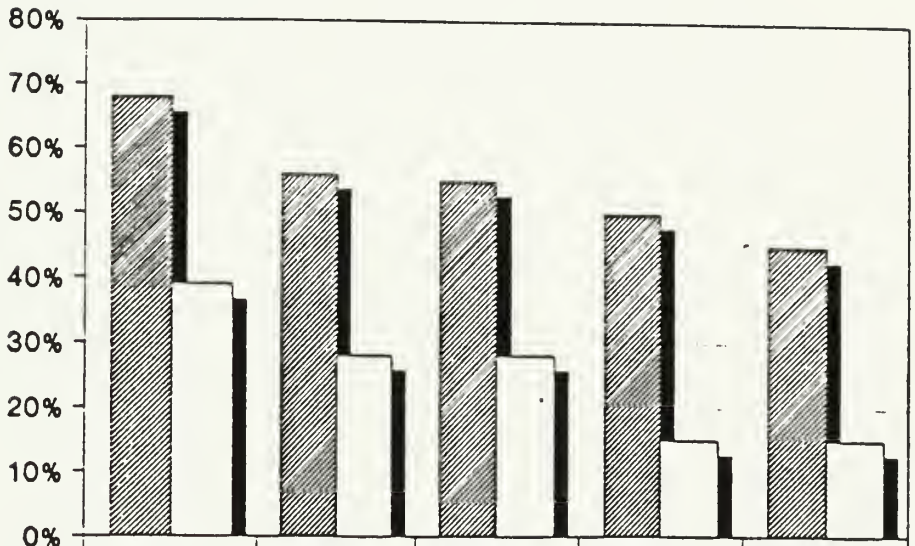
MAP OF NEPAL AND AREA SITES


Scale 1:30,0000
N
ANNAPURNA CONSERVATION AREA PROJECT
BASE Project Area
LOCATION MAP
CHINA (Tibet)
INDIA
PAKISTAN
NEPAL
LEGEND
HEAD QUARTERS
KATHMANDU
MANALU-SARUS PROJECT AREA
HEAL Project Site

APPENDIX B

LITERACY RATES BY REGION OF NEPAL

Literacy
Ability to read/write (>6years)
Development regions



	Western	Central	Eastern	Far-west	Mid-west
Males	68%	56%	55%	50%	45%
Females	39%	28%	28%	15%	15%

18,825 households, NMIS 1995

APPENDIX C

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AUTHORS

Authors' Profile

Name	Viliage	Age	Ethnicity or Caste	Education	Organization
Buddhi Gurung	Lwang	??	Gurung	No primary NFE only	ACAP
Purna Gurung	Ghandruk	22	Gurung	No primary NFE only	ACAP
Santi Bika	Ghandruk	20	Kami	No primary NFE only	ACAP
Karma Kumari Gurung	Ghandruk	??	Gurung	No primary NFE Only	ACAP
Bishnu Kumari Gurung	Ghandruk	??	Gurung	No primary NFE Only	ACAP
Sano Kanchi Thing	Dadavas	30	Tamang	No primary NFE only	HEAL
Kanchi Maya Sangthan	Dadavas	20	Tamang	No primary NFE only	HEAL
Laxmi Maya Bista	???	18	Chettri	2 years primary NFE additional	HEAL
Maiya Bista	???	26	Chettri	No primary NFE only	HEAL
Juni Kumari Chaudary	Chaukuri	18	Tharu	NFE followed by Class 3-7	BASE
Sundara Chaudary	Bathutal	16	Tharu	NFE only	BASE
Sita Chaudary	Bathutal	21	Tharu	NFE only	BASE

APPENDIX D

LIST OF LGM TITLES BY YEAR AND ORGANIZATION

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Luthern World Service	Ukali-going to the peak (newsletter)	Ukali-going to the peak (newsletter)	Ukali-going to the peak (newsletter) Chautara-meeting place (newsletter)	Ukali-going to the peak (newsletter) Chautara-meeting place (newsletter)	Ukali-going to the peak (newsletter)
Save the Children Fund-US	Jamarko II - to try (2000)	Jamarko III (3000) Litho text - Gorkha LGM TOT report (100)	Jamarko IV (3000) Jamarko III (1500) Jamarko II (1000) Sangalo I (6000) LGM TOT manual (100) Litho text - Nuwakot and Gorkha	Jamarko V (3000) Jamarko III (1500) Jamarko II (1500) Sangalo I (2000) Sangalo II (3000) Litho text - Chitwan, Nuwakot and Gorkha	Saparaun Bal Bhavisya (2000) Jamarko V (3000) Jamarko III (1500) Jamarko II (1500) Sangalo I (1000) Sangalo II (2000) Litho text - Chitwan, Nuwakot and Gorkha
United Mission to Nepal		Dukha ra Sukha "Sorrow and Joy" (3000) Pahile ra Ahile "Now and Then" (3000) Natra Banchi "Do or else" (3000) Nepal ko Circus "Nepali Circus" (3000) Panchtantra "Get rid of remorse" (3000) Laborious Bishnu's story (3000)	Bhukampa "Earthquake" (3000) Lahure ko Katha "Soldier's story" (3000) Standing on my own feet (3000)	Dukha ra Sukha "Sorrow and Joy" (3000) Pahile ra Ahile "Now and Then" (3000) Natra Banchi "Do or else" (3000) Panchtantra "Get rid of remorse" (3000) Laborious Bishnu's story (3000) Sorrow of war (3000) Landslide memories (3000) Litho text - Jajarkot, Ramechhap, Lalitpur	Sorrow of war (3000) Pahile ra Ahile "Now and Then" (3000) Panchtantra "Get rid of remorse" (3000) Kind friend (3000) Forest lover, Mr. Suk Bir (3000) An encounter with bear (3000) Carpet weaver's story (3000) Fire (3000) Litho text - Jajarkot, Ramechhap, Lalitpur
Annapurna Conservation Area Project			Samrakchan I "Conservation" (1000)	Samrakchan 1 (1000)	Samrakchan 1 (1000) Samrakchan II (1000)
Basic Primary Education Project			School Catchment Area Mapping	School Catchment Area Mapping	School Catchment Area Mapping
Backward Society Education				Paribarthan I "Changes" (5000) Bihan "Morning" (5000)	Paribarthan II (6000) Bihan II (5000) Bihan III (5000)

World Education - HEAL				Cleanliness Pit Latrine Pneumonia Health Post Female Community Health Volunteer Vitamin A	Happy Family Alcohol Community Participation Village Health Worker Complicated Pregnancy Child Spacing
Nepal National Social Welfare Association				Litho texts - Chitwan	Litho texts - Chitwan, Jhapa
Save the Children -UK				Hamro sapana "Our dream" (newsletter)	Hamro sapana "Our dream" (newsletter)
Oxfam					Hamro kura "Our talk" (newsletter) Dukheso "Sorrow" (2000)
Save the Children Japan					Jyoti "Light" Sochan "Thought" Maithali
CARE					
CERID					
Bal Chetana Samuha					Child's right

APPENDIX E

ACAP ATTACHMENTS: PAGES FROM LGM TEXTS

१. वृक्षारोपण

विष्णु दवाडी, मोहरिया
बुद्धिशोभा गुरुङ्ग, ल्वाङ्ग गाउँ

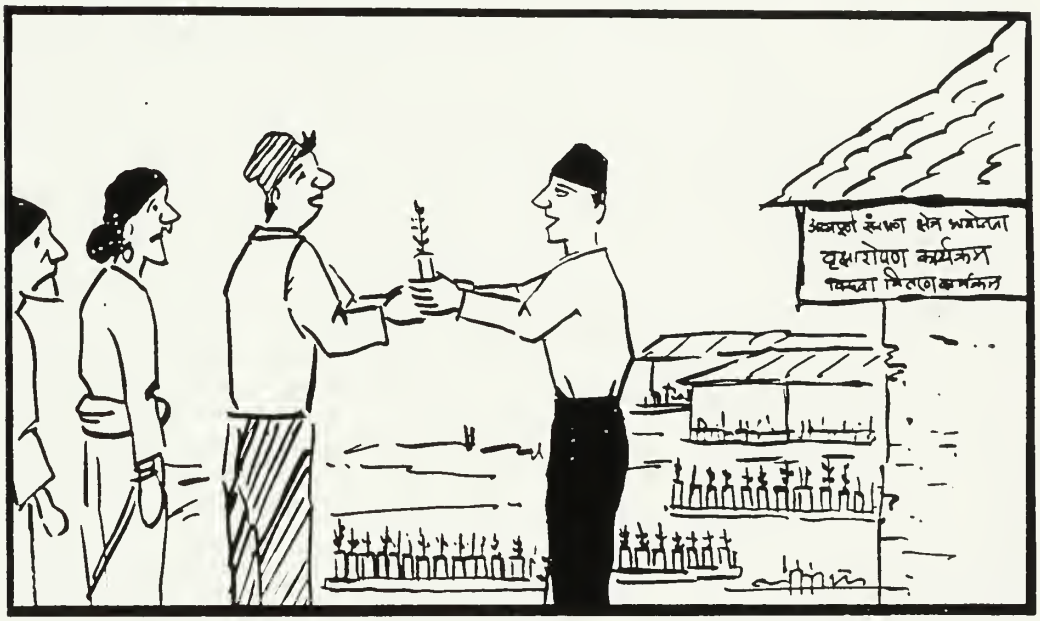
/16

हामी खाली डाँडामा वृक्षारोपण गर्छौं । किनभने नाङ्गो डाँडोलाई हरियो बनाउनु पर्छ । वृक्षारोपण गरे भने भविष्यमा धेरै फाइदाहरू पाइन्छ । वृक्षारोपण गऱ्यौ भने पानी परिरहन्छ, मूल पनि निस्कन्छ । हामी नारीलाई धेरै फाइदा हुन्छ । वृक्षारोपण गरेमा महिलालाई घास दाउरा ल्याउन टाढा जान पर्दैन । घरको स्याहार सुसार, बच्चाको हेर विचार गर्न पाइन्छ । वन नजिक भएमा समय बचत हुन्छ । यति मात्र होइन हामीले पालेको गाईवस्तुले पानी खान पाउँछ । बिरुवाले पनि पानी चुस्न पाउँछ । पानी पाए बिरुवा राम्रो हुन्छ । पानी भए खेतमा धान राम्रो हुन्छ । रूख हुर्किएपछि हामीले घाँस दाउरा पनि पाउँछौं ।

१

Tree Plantation
ACAP Publication

वृक्षारोपण गरेमा पहिरो जान सक्दैन । माटो रोक्छ र खोलामा पहिरो जान सक्दैन । बिरुवाहरू हुर्केपछि हामीले चिसो हावा पनि प्रसस्त पाउँछौ । चिसो हावा पानीले हाम्रो स्वास्थ्य ठीक राख्छ । स्वास्थ्य ठीक भएमा हामी धेरै काम गर्न सक्छौ ।



वृक्षारोपण गर्नको लागि बिरुवा हामीले संरक्षण अफिसबाट वा नर्सरीबाट ल्याएर रोप्नुपर्छ ।

वृक्षारोपण आफ्नो घर नजिक गरेमा पातहरू बारीमा खसेपछि माटोलाई मलिलो बनाउछ ।

वृक्षारोपण जेठ, आषाढ वा श्रावण महिनामा गरिन्छ । बेला-बेलामा गोडमेल गर्नुपर्छ ।

पर्खाल लगाएर गाईवस्तुबाट बचाउन पर्छ ।

२

अभ्यास

वन जङ्गलको अभावमा हुने समस्याहरू :

१.

२.

३.

४.

५.

६.

तपाईले लगाउनु भएको बिरुवाको जातहरू

१. ..... २. ..... ३. .....

३

APPENDIX F

BASE ATTACHMENTS: PAGES FROM LGM TEXTS

जीवनी : सीता कुमारी चौधरी

म्वार नाउं सीता कुमारी चौधरी हो । म्वार घर भेरी अञ्चल बर्दिया जिल्ला मोतीपुर गा.वि.स. वार्ड नं. २ बठुवाताल थारा गल्ली म पर्था म्वार जरम दाङ्ग त्रिभुवन नगरपालिका वार्ड न. १ भगवानपुर गाउंम २०३० साल कार्तिक महिनाम हुइल । हाल मै २१ बषर्के हुइल बातु । म्वार बाबक नाउं कबीराम चौधरी व दाईक नाउं जग्मोती चौधरी हो । मै आपन दाईबाबक बर्की छाई हुइतु । म्वार जीवन बहुत दुःखले भरल बा । एक थो दादु व एक थो बहिन्यौं बात । जब मै १० महिनाके रनहुं तबसे मै आपन दाईके माया से बञ्चीत हुइपुरनु । एकथो गरीब परिवारके मनैयक छाई आखीर म्वार बुदी और बाबा महिहन पल्ल और बढैल । म्वार जन्म देना दाई रलमे फे मै आपन दाई असक बुदीहन मन्नेरहु । काकर की म्वार बचपनम पल्ना पोसना सक्कु काम बुदी करलीं ।

२०३५ सालके बात हो जिम्दारनके बहुत शोषण के कारण बर-बेगारी नै कर सेक्ना और आपन छाक-बासके समस्याहन तार नै सेक्क हमन बाध्यताबस बर्दिया आइपरल यहांके मुकुम्वासी के रुपम १५ कट्ठा जग्गा मिलल ।

हमार थारु समाजम छाईन नै पढैना आघमे चलन बा । महिहनफे और जहन झवाला बोक क पढ़ जाइन देखकन स्कूल जैनाम लाग । किताब, कापी लेक स्कूल जैना व्यालामा बाबा महिहन गैया चराए पठाए । आपन जनम देलक दाई नै रहल औंसें बाबाहन कह नै सेकु । मै गरीब परिवार हुइलक ओरसे फे बाबाक पढ पठेना

Sita's Story
BASE Publicaton.

मन हुइती हुइती मही स्कूल पठाए नै सेक। आम्ही म्वार बुद्धि नै आइल रहल व्यालाम १० महिनासे माया कर्ति अइलक मै कुदीक मायासे फे बञ्चित हुइ पुग्नु।

एकथो गरीब ओ दुःखीके क्वारम जरम पाखन मै २१ बर्षके हुइनु, तभ्भुफे म्वारलाग जीवनम सुख नै हो। व्याकवार्ड सोसाईटी एजुकेशन (बेस) सस्था हमार गाउँम आईल त मै दिनभर आपन घरक काम कैखन सकुजहन के सुत्ना व्याला प्रौढ कक्षा म पढ जाउ, दोश्र प्रौढमन पढकन आपन गाउँ, नाउँ लिख जन्ना हुइनु। बेस सस्था कसिन काम कर्ति बा कलसे नै पढल मनैन पर्हिना काम कर्ती बा। आजकाल मै प्रौढ कक्षा म पर्हिना काम कर्यु। मही बेस संस्था बहुत मजा लागल। मै पर्हिना काम केल्हक नै कैकन और फे सिप मुलक काम कर्ना बिचार बा।

APPENDIX G

WORLD EDUCATION ATTACHMENTS

निमोनियाको रोक़थाम

रुघाखोकी, ज्वरो आएको बेला धुलो,धुवाँ र खारबाट जोगाउँ
एक वर्षको उमेर भित्रै सबै खोप दिलाउँ ।

बच्चाले खान पिउन नमानेमा फकाई फुलाई खुवाउँ
रुघाखोकी लाग्नासाथ बेलैमा होश पुऱ्याउँ ।

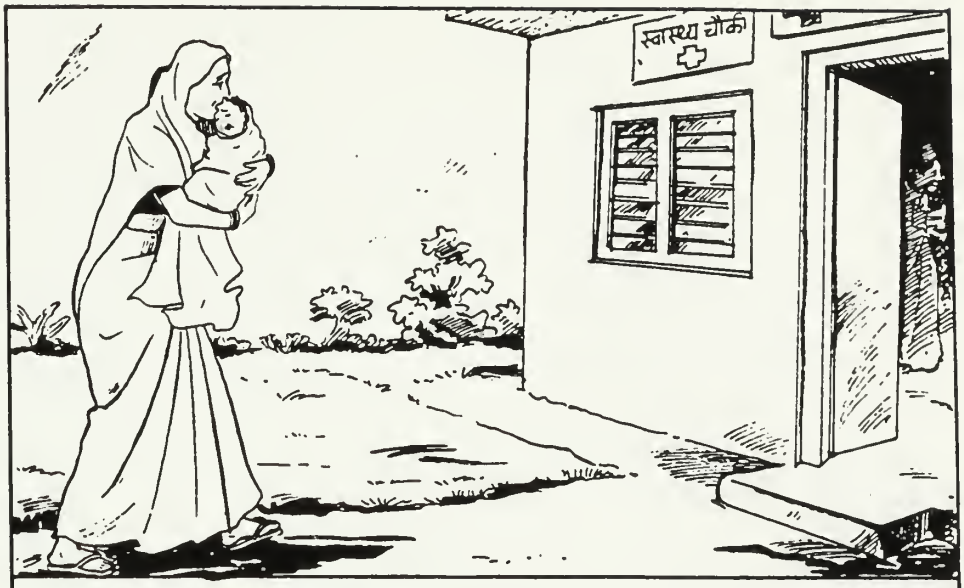
४

Pneumonia Song
HEAL Publication

बच्चाले छिटो-छिटो सास फेऱ्यो भने
निमोनिया हुन सक्छ ।

साना-साना बच्चाको कोखा हान्यो भने
उपचार गर्नुपर्छ ।

५



छाती दुख्ने बच्चाले सँधै घ्यार-घ्यार गर्छ ।
चिसो बाट जोगाउँदै अस्पताल लानु पर्छ ।

मिति २०४९ फगुन १४ गते
पालुङ्ग मकवानपुर
लेखिकाहरु:
मैयाँ विष्ट
लखी माया विष्ट
चिनी माया विष्ट
सुसिला बिष्ट
गोगने गा.वि.स.

निमोनियाको रोकथाम

अभ्यास:

खाली ठाउँ भर्नुहोस् ।

(कोखा, घ्यार-घ्यार, फकाई फुलाई, निमोनिया, सबै खोप, धुवाँ र खार)

१. रुघाखोकी ज्वरो आएको बेला.....बाट जोगाउँ ।

२. बच्चाले खान नमाने.....खुवाउँ ।

३. एक वर्ष भित्रै.....दिलाउँ ।

४. बच्चाले छिटो छिटो सास फेऱ्यो भने.....हुन सक्दछ ।

५. छाती दुख्ने बच्चाले सँधै.....गर्दछ ।

६. निमोनिया भएको बच्चाको.....हान्छ ।

6

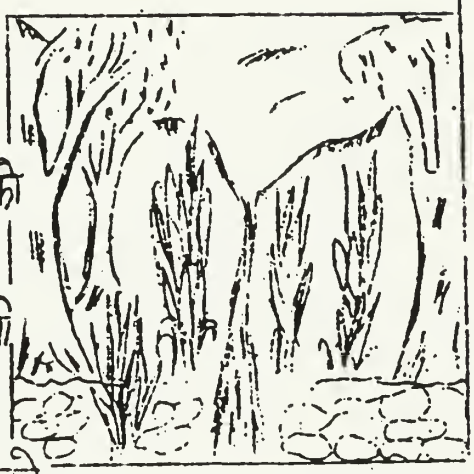
APPENDIX H

OTHER EXAMPLES OF LGM TEXTS

SCF

How to Grow
Cardomom for Money
SCF US Litho

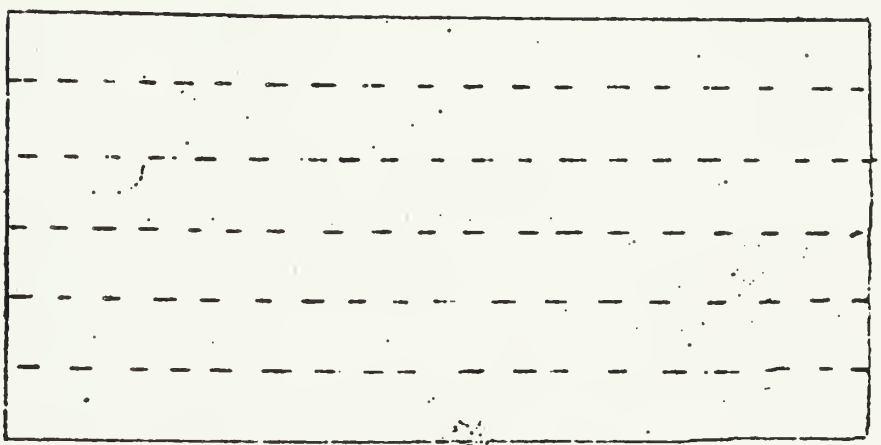
अलैंची खेतीको लागि उपयुक्त ठाउँ



अलैंचीको लागि छाँया र चिसो भएको ठाँउ चाहिन्छ। छाँयाको लागि अलैंची रोप्नु भन्दा एक दुई वर्ष अगाडी उतिसको बिरुवा रोप्नु पर्दछ। साथै पहिले नै उतिस हुर्केको ठाँउमा पनि यसको खेती गर्न सकिन्छ। उतिसले जग्गा रसीलो बनाउन मद्दत गर्दछ। उतिसको पातले मलको काम गर्दछ। अलि अलि पानी भएको ठाँउ भए अलैंची साह्रै राम्रो हुन्छ।

SCF US
Litho

अलैंची खेती जर्न कुन हाँउ उपयुक्त हुन्छ ?



अलैंची खेती गर्ने तरिका

अलैंचीको विरुवा रोप्दा एक विरुवा देखी अर्को विरुवा तिन हात देखी चार हात सम्मको फरकमा रोप्नु पर्छ। एक ठाउमा दुई तिन विरुवा रोप्नु पर्छ।

SCFUS Litho

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